The Commonweal

A Weekly Review of Literature, The Arts and Public Affairs

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BIRTHDAY GREETINGS FOR A NEIGHBOR

BEING in the midst of our modest celebration of an anniversary—that of our tenth year of publication—we of this paper are much interested in a more noteworthy event of the same kind: the twentieth anniversary of that influential weekly review which for two decades has occupied a highly honorable and admirable place in the American press, the *New Republic*. We are irreconcilably opposed to what we consider to be the fallacious and socially harmful philosophy of our distinguished neighbor, yet, partly for that very reason, we wish to acknowledge gratefully our indebtedness to the *New Republic*, and our sincere appreciation of the high quality of its work. We must, in common courtesy, express our thanks for the inspiration and encouragement which its undeviating devotion to a high standard of journalism has afforded us in our own efforts to give American readers a review of public affairs guided by principles drawn from non-commercialized motives, and dedicated to the general welfare of the nation.

For it seems to us that the secular press has been, and still is, for the most part, mainly a profit-making enterprise; only very partially and ineffectively concerned with performing the true functions of journalism: which are to inform the public as to the facts of contemporary events, and to provide an open, fairly conducted forum for the discussion of their meaning, their causes and their relation to the problems of our times.

We do not say that social enterprises are necessarily to be suspected of bad intentions, or necessarily should be condemned, on the grounds of their profit-making (or profit-seeking) purposes. Fairly considered, practically every form of profit-seeking business is genuinely and usefully also a branch or department of the social services of our complex order of civilization. A grocery store at the crossroads in the country, or a chain of

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grocery stores crisscrossing all the cities of the land, can perform—and often does perform—beneficial services to the community when wholesome goods are dispensed at a fair price, and the workers employed by it are paid living wages, and decently dealt with as to the conditions of their labor. Unless all things are to be socialized, the profit system is the only other way in which the daily business of human life can be done, and for ourselves we believe that the profit system is far superior to Socialism, provided that the profit system is itself subordinated to a system of morality which does not elevate the desire for profits above the principles of honesty and fair dealing and truth, and, above all, the code of social justice.

Now, of all the multitudinous affairs of modern life which employ the profit system as their instrument, journalism, it seems to us, is the one most obviously "affected with a public interest." It is the one in which commercialism, in the derogatory sense of that term, most quickly and disastrously perverts its main social function—which is the informing and the enlightening of public opinion. And we regretfully express our conviction that American journalism is badly infected with excessive commercialism. It is so generally committed to the quest for profits, as its main, its dominating purpose, that more and more, during the last half century, its editorial policies have fallen under the direct or indirect control of its business office. Therefore, American journalism has failed, on the whole, to supply that frank and thorough examination and criticism of our social system which any social system, in any time, in any place, incessantly requires, if it is to be maintained in a healthy condition, or reformed when it goes wrong.

Now, the *New Republic,* on the other hand, for twenty years, has sought consistently and zealously to apply the principles of ethical journalism to the reporting and criticism and reformation of our corrupted social system.

Of course, journalism in itself is a negative thing. Its own code, which calls for honest reporting, and the fair debating of public affairs, is good as far as it goes, but any particular journal, or journalist, requires, in addition, to be animated by a sincere devotion to principles both broader and deeper than the ethics of his profession.

As we have already remarked, we think that the general philosophy of life which has been followed and expressed by the *New Republic* is false and harmful. Apparently, the *New Republic* has at last reached the same conclusion—not at all because of our influence, of course, but because of its own honest thinking. Its current number is a jeremiad over the ruins of the policy it has followed for twenty years. This lamentation on the theme of the collapse of liberalism is a highly remarkable and deeply significant utterance. And its frank abandonment of liberalism, and its bold proclamation of a new policy of editorial devotion to "collectivism"—a sort of professional euphemism for Communism, we suppose (which, incidentally, it has been defending and praising for some time)—call for serious attention, which for our part we purpose to give to it later on.

Our present desire, however, is to congratulate the *New Republic* in having during twenty of the most strenuous years of social change and upheaval labored faithfully and conscientiously in pursuit of what it has honestly considered to be the best interests of the American people. Its many notable contributions to the periodical literature of our times will give its bound volumes a permanent value. We wish for it a continuance of the same true success which has marked its twenty years of growing—that success which comes as a result of intellectual conscientiousness, of sincere moral zeal, and altruistic devotion to the common good. Again we must add that we consider its conscience to be a false one (men may sincerely follow a misinformed conscience: and this is one of the major causes of personal and social disaster), and we think that its moral zeal has often been badly directed; but there can be no question of the reality of its devotion to social justice; and even in fighting its influence, as we must continue to do, we admire and salute its high courage and its stanch loyalty to its own ideals.

Week by Week

The Trend of Events

CONGRESS prepared to debate the social welfare policies of the administration. The principal foes to the Left were advocates of harum-scarum plans to put three chickens into every pot, notably the schemes devised by Senator Huey Long and Dr. Townsend. But there were many other critics, especially in quarters where the pension allowances sponsored by the President were adjudged too low. The bill advocated by Mr. Roosevelt likewise suffers from a rather serious lack of clarity and unity. In essence it seems to mean pretty much this: after federal plans to take up the slack in unemployment by financing jobs on public works projects have been put into successful operation, it will remain the duty of the government to help provide for other penniless groups—the seasonally unemployed, the aged and underprivileged children; this duty ought to be transferred as far as possible to the states and to industry itself, by means of a coordinated system of federal, state and industrial insurance manage-

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ment. A complete picture of the operation cannot be drawn in advance, but the federal government can stake out certain limits inside which it thinks the cause of social security can be profitably aided. When these broad general facts are borne in mind, it seems quite obvious that the bill now before Congress is not one which the "experts" summoned during the past year to devise a social insurance system would have advocated. Indeed, many leading authorities have more or less publicly expressed their dissatisfaction. It is, of course, impossible for a journal of opinion such as this to be dogmatic on so vast and intricate a matter. Nevertheless we feel that Mr. Roosevelt's message is an expression of unwillingness to "pile the load" on industry and business at the present time rather than of desire to give birth to the chubbiest possible insurance baby. It will be exceptionally interesting to see whether he manages to get the support of House and Senate for this measure. Rumor has it that hot and spirited debating is to be expected, and that the bill as presented will probably be divided into sections each one of which will be given separate consideration by Congress.

ONE RELATIVELY minor provision of the bill implies a notable concession to that large group of the American population not identifiable with labor organizations properly so called. Citizens who for one reason or another, chiefly because they are self-employed, do not fall under the compulsory insurance law, may purchase annuities from the government insuring a modest retirement stipend. These funds are to be managed without cost, so that the system resulting would compare from several points of view with the life insurance granted to veterans of the army and navy. It will of course be urged that such a venture would mean competition with established commercial insurance companies. Still there is no doubt that, if a national social security system is to be inaugurated, all classes should be permitted to share its advantages. Only in this way can class feeling be eliminated and a safeguard be established against sentiment of the kind which has recently been so vocal abroad. We all need to bear in mind that a great portion of our present difficulties are psychological, and that psychology expresses itself in violent outbursts of feeling. Much that one hears these days is pure emotionalism, and those who know that right reason alone can guide the perilous course of society have every reason to feel alarmed as they survey the scene. But emotionalism is a reality, even a very substantial human reality. Wise political action does not act as if this emotionalism were not in existence. It reckons carefully with it, placates it when necessary and even utilizes it with shrewd calculation of social chances. That the New Deal has palpably erred is one thing; our future verdict of it will depend on whether it is found to have erred wisely. The immediate task of correlating measures taken with the traditional corpus of law is the difficult and just now critical task of the Supreme Court, major decisions by which are somewhat breathlessly awaited.

THE PLACID calm of years when everyone seemed to wait for a rationalistic dispensation attractive enough to guarantee popular acceptance of social norms is manifestly giving way in America to a period of turbulent feeling. People are not resisting the temptation to become activists, and the future may be characterized by the rhythm of exploding bombs—literal and figurative alike. One good example of this is the adventure of Miss Adelaide Keena, who two weeks ago wrote a letter to THE COMMONWEAL suggesting a frontal attack on displays of "feminine hygiene" material and who has now been jailed for smashing with a hatchet the window of a New Jersey drug store in which the offending merchandise was offered for sale. It is not difficult to sympathize with this new Carrie Nation. We have just been reading a booklet distributed by a New York corporation, manufacturers of a product sold as a germ-destroyer but intended, as passages in the booklet plainly indicate, for use as a contraceptive. Doubtless the firm has the advice of expert legal counsel to the effect that no court action against either product or booklet will succeed. Moreover, Catholic opinion on the subject of birth control is now so isolated that the outside world takes for granted a speedy change of the law.

More Emotionalism

IS THERE, consequently, no barrier against the demoralization of young people, whose concepts of the decency and beauty of the love life are to be wrapped in "Burchbark" and other products of the "hygiene movement"? The question is an exceedingly serious one. It cannot be approached emotionally, for the reason that one emotion simply runs headlong into a contrary one. We ourselves feel that the best approach to this particular aspect of a greater problem lies through an organization of Catholic pharmacists and their friends, operating without publicity and under wise guidance. We think also that in most cities large and social-minded advertisers could be brought together for an effort to induce papers not to use copy supplied by those firms at least whose products are laughed at by the medical profession. It is wholly unlikely that any Catholic has a right to smash pharmacy windows, but it is just as clear that the Catholic group must seek to use its power effectively against practises of which it justifiably disapproves.

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WE ARE reasonably encouraged by the news that Department of Agriculture and Agricultural Adjustment Administration officials are to closet themselves for a week, or something like that, with a poet. AE, and there is no doubt of his being a poet, is to spend several days telling these officials about cooperative farming. This, all our idealistic instincts tell us, is the right approach. Cooperation, that's the thing! And AE, we have not the slightest doubt, will talk in terms of living, of human beings, of fireside cheer, of children, of the market basket, of homely satisfactions and cosmic apperceptions. His will not be the statistical madness, which is one of the things affecting our times, that regiments human beings in rows of digits on a clean white sheet of paper. He knows that people are not as simple, in the bad sense, as that and any attempt to regiment them into conformity with any such vision of a crank or humanistic messiah means turning a country into one large penal camp, with sub-wardens, wardens and head-keeper, trial without jury, without gentleness, without any attempt at understanding or sympathizing, and the final futile, and frequent, gesture of the firing squad—that sower of the dragon's teeth. AE, as George W. Russell, it may be remembered, worked for a quarter of a century with Sir Horace Plunkett in the organization of cooperatives among the sadly underprivileged (through no fault of their own) Irish farmers and in the eventual formation of the model Irish Agricultural Organization Society. American farmers have the problem of organizing themselves in the face of absentee ownership, not the old and relatively simple ownership of landlordism but the subtle, vitiating one of over $4,000,000,000 of mortgage debt. Of course the 2,600,000 tenant farmers in the United States stagger under a double disability, a triple claim to profits from their slender and precarious earnings. We hope AE is able to divulge some of the noble secrets of cooperation. Its very opposite is a desperate choice.

Poet and Plowshares

SPEAKING at the New School for Social Research, Dr. Alvin Johnson declared that the cause of liberty in the modern world was largely entrusted to the Church, visible and invisible. Dictators have, he noted, outlawed such cultural values as the poems of Heine, the choral music of the Russian Church, the books of Jewish thinkers and the symphonies of Gustav Mahler. Though all these things have value, and are testimonials to the creative freedom of the human mind, few men will die for them. An individual here and there will also perish for liberty in the abstract. But the cause of freedom is safe only where there are large numbers willing to resist the encroachment of tyranny even unto death. Religion is, said Dr. Johnson, the sole force powerful enough to enlist these numbers. The antique world knew no such concept as that one must serve God rather than man; and though several great sages of antiquity gave their lives for ideals, the world at large was not conscious of any value in their sacrifice. It was the Christian Church which, struggling for the right to exist, triumphed over the state by reason of its inexhaustible readiness for martyrdom. Practically all our other liberties have been accumulated one by one as a result of the Christian success. Some of them are probably not viable today, in view of complex economic and social relations. But if the movement toward the totalitarian state is to be halted short of the complete collapse of the belief in personality, the Church will again have to be prepared to resist. That is the lesson preached to us from abroad these days, and it is expedient that we should heed it carefully.

Liberty and Religion

THE RECENT drive on drugs by federal agents throughout the country brought into the open many grim and curious things. The appalling amount of drugs currently consumed, the methods employed for gaining new addicts, the strange hiding places—hollowed soap cakes, watches, shaving brush handles—utilized by the takers and the sellers, all go to make up a fantastic record. But perhaps the appendix to the story which has just been furnished by the state of Rhode Island is as strange as any part of it. For one thing, the drug discovered there is not smuggled in; it is homegrown, produced from the marijuana or Mexican weed, which grows there abundantly. For another thing, it is hashish. That the sturdy and honorable soil of the doughty little state, whose very name evokes the image of civic uprightness, should nourish and freely proliferate the exotic substance around which so many lurid tales have been woven—the potent bane by which the Old Man of the Mountain alternately maddened and pacified his slaves in the Valley of the Assassins—is something to bring one up standing. It appears that traffic in the hashish cigarettes, or "reefers," made from the processed flower of the weed, is very brisk, and goes far beyond the state's borders. The Rhode Island Narcotic Drugs Board is helpless to explain how a weed of evil nature, native to much more southerly regions, comes to be flourishing so happily in that chill and decorous clime. But at any rate, they intend to have it all uprooted in the spring. We have been told that they should not neglect even apparently brave and innocent window-boxes.

Note on Drugs, Botany, etc.

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DO POLITICS MAKE SENSE?

By MOORHOUSE F. X. MILLAR

Holding that a Catholic sociology is necessary if consciousness of traditional Christian principle is to survive, Father Millar describes "the two fundamental principles of natural human equality in its relation to justice and of the essential demand in human nature for the existence and maintenance of a state in some concrete and effective form." The development of these concepts is then traced through Augustinianism and Thomism. Modern departures from the point of view thus indicated are likewise examined.—The Editors.

"THE FIRST problem of Catholic sociology is within itself." These are the words of Arthur J. O'Connor in his very timely article on "The Issues of Catholic Sociology" in the *Dublin Review* for January, 1934. As he points out, the Church, while in this world yet not of it, of necessity has had to compromise "in practise with the order which has resulted from the secularist philosopy." And he concludes most pertinently:

> Therefore the most pressing work for the Catholic sociologist is to regenerate social and economic thought within the Church in Protestant and industrial countries and to restore the Christian exemplar of common human life.

But in taking up the task of thus regenerating social, economic and, as I would add, political thought along truly Christian lines in our present world, we cannot keep too definitely before our own minds the warning left us by Edmund Burke in his "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents" (World Classics Series, "The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke," II, 9), where he says:

> There are but very few who are capable of comparing and digesting what passes before their eyes at different times and occasions, so as to form the whole into a distinct system. But in books everything is settled for them, without the exertion of any considerable diligence or sagacity. For which reason men are wise with but little reflection, and good with little self-denial, in the business of all times except their own. We are very uncorrupt and tolerably enlightened judges of the transactions of past ages; where no passions deceive, and where the whole train of circumstances, from the trifling cause to the tragical event, is set in an orderly series before us. Few are the partizans of departed tyranny; and to be a Whig on the business of an hundred years ago, is very consistent with every advantage of present servility. This retrospective wisdom, and historical patriotism, are things of wonderful convenience: and serve admirably to reconcile the old-quarrel between speculation and practise.

In other words, in times like the present, when all precedents are more or less in the balance, we cannot be too clear as to fundamental principles. Nor in scrutinizing these should we allow ourselves to overlook the importance of the distinction Saint Thomas makes when ("Summa Theologica," Ia-IIae, Q. 94, a. 4), contrasting speculative and practical reason, he points out how,

> in speculative matters truth is the same in all men, both as to principles and as to conclusions: although the truth is not known to all as regards the conclusions, but only as regards the principles which are called common notions. But in matters of action, truth or practical rectitude is not the same for all, as to matters of detail, but *only as to the general principles*: and where there is the same rectitude as to matters of detail, it is not equally known to all.

Among the many general principles of human rectitude that are thus true for all men, though not equally known to all, there are two which considered historically and from the point of view of their sound and adequate formulation may be said to be distinctively Catholic. These are the two fundamental principles of *natural* human equality in its relation to justice and of the *essential* demand in human nature for the existence and maintenance of a state in some concrete and effective form. Morally speaking, any such adequate formulation was beyond possible achievement by the unaided pagan mind before the days of Christianity. On the other hand, with the general secularization of social thought which, beginning with the break up of the Middle Ages in the fourteenth century, has, until lately, grown more and more exclusive of the Christian point of view, these two principles, as once definitely grasped, in their true meaning and practical bearing have become utterly obscured for the modern mind by a long train of corrupt and conflicting statements and indiscriminating and ignorant interpretations. So true is this that even Catholic thinkers deeply concerned with the task of recapturing the sounder philosophical tradition of the past seem themselves in this respect to be bitten by what Burke so pointedly calls a "present servility" which prevents them from grasping the full and original significance of these two principles as analyzed and synthetically defined in the works of Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas.

Contrary to the assumption invariably made, Saint Augustine's doctrine on equality is no more identical with that of the Stoics and the Roman

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jurists than it is with that of their modern heirs, the French revolutionists. Nor, on the other hand, are the more fundamental reasons given by Saint Thomas for holding man to be essentially both a social and a political animal nothing but a simple amplification of those given by Aristotle. As I hope to show, failure to allow for deep and vital differences in this connection is one of the reasons for the apparent inability to account satisfactorily for the fundamental discrepancies between the more liberal institutions which we, in English-speaking countries, have inherited from medieval England, and those of other countries where the revived pagan principles of Roman law came to prevail.

Lord Acton, in his "History of Freedom and Other Essays," points out in a memorable phrase how "the ancients understood the regulation of power better than the regulation of liberty. They concentrated so many prerogatives in the State as to leave no footing from which a man could deny its jurisdiction or assign bounds to its authority" (page 16). But in the end he fails to see what it was that from the beginning motivated and justified "so much of the hard fighting, the thinking, the enduring that has contributed to the deliverance of man from the power of man" (page 59) which, as he observes with due pride and emphasis, has been the work of his own countrymen, "and of their descendants in other lands." For this original motive and early justification the following passage from Saint Augustine ("De civitate Dei," XIX, 12, Dodd's translation) all but makes its own exclusive claim:

> How much more powerfully do the laws of man's nature move him to hold fellowship and maintain peace with all men so far as in him lies, since even wicked men wage war to maintain the peace of their own circle, and wish that, if possible, all men belonged to them, that all men and things might serve but one head, and might either through love or fear, yield themselves to peace with him. It is thus that *pride* in its perversity apes God. It abhors equality with other men under Him: but instead of His rule, it seeks to impose a rule of its own upon its equals. It abhors, that is to say, the just peace of God and loves its own unjust peace. For there is no vice so clean contrary to nature that it obliterates even the faintest traces of nature.

In short, no man of himself has any right to impose his will upon another. This is the solid and only foundation for the correct theory of inalienable rights. It explains why consent of the governed is a necessary condition to just government and furnishes the only practical basis for constitutional limitations and the maintenance of the supremacy of law. It also explains why in the Middle Ages, instead of assuming with Plato and Seneca, Harrington, Locke, Rousseau and our modern Socialists generally that private property is the source of all social evils, they concentrated upon setting up barriers against human *superbia* or pride as the chief obstacle to true social justice. And lest the connection between Saint Augustine's doctrine of equality and the earlier constitutional struggles in England be not altogether obvious we have in the "Song of Lewes" (C. L. Kingsford's edition and translation, page 48), written in justification of Simon de Montfort and his cause, this arresting statement:

> Let every king understand that he is the servant of God: let him love that only which is pleasing to Him; and let him seek His glory in ruling, not his own pride by despising his equals.

Thus, to quote Acton again (Loc. cit., page 39):

> The issue of ancient politics was an absolute state planted on slavery. The political produce of the Middle Ages was a system of states in which authority was restricted by the representation of powerful classes, by privileged associations and by the acknowledgment of duties superior to those which are imposed by man.

But then, as he adds:

> As regards the realization in practise of what was seen to be good, there was almost everything to do. But the great problems of principle had been solved.

In keeping with historians of the Middle Ages generally he fails to see the full significance of the fact that before Saint Thomas the minds of men in those times were utterly devoid of any idea of the state as a natural institution. As B. Landry puts it in his introduction to his recent French translation of Dante's "De Monarchia" (page 46), those who stood out for the received Augustinian tradition were committed to the following view:

> If Adam had not sinned, all men would have remained equal; they would have lived together, but there would have been no kings or judges or police agencies. Why should there be constraint where the desire for unjust domination did not exist? A people of brothers has no need of the whip to keep them united. Sin has turned men wicked and wild animals need a trainer to master them.

This, be it noted, was not as yet the doctrine of Luther or of Hobbes or of Kant which presupposes that human nature was somehow radically vitiated by sin. It still leaves men social by nature, but reduces all social organization, apart from the divine *positive* institution of the Church, to mere artificial human convention. Hence the importance of that passage in the "Summa" where Saint Thomas, dealing with this very question, points out that "mastership has a twofold meaning. First, as opposed to slavery." But, in another sense ("Summa Theologica," Ia, Q.96 a.4):

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> A man is a master of a free subject, by directing him either toward his proper welfare, or to the common good. Such a kind of mastership would have existed in the state of innocence between man and man, for two reasons. First, because man is naturally a social being, and so in a state of innocence he would have led a social life. Now a social life cannot exist among a number of people unless under the presidency of one to look after the common good: for many, as such, seek many things, whereas one attends only to one. Wherefore the Philosopher says, in the beginning of the "Politics," that wherever many things are directed to one, we shall always find one at the head directing them. Secondly, if one man surpassed another in knowledge and virture, this would not have been fitting unless these gifts conduced to the benefit of others, according to I Peter, iv, 10: "As every man hath received grace, ministering the same one to another." Wherefore Augustine says, "Just men command not by the love of domineering, but by service of counsel," and, "The natural order of things requires this; and thus did God make man" ("De civitate Dei," XIX, 14, 15).

In other words, man is by nature both a social and a political being. Not only does Saint Thomas correct the received and prevailing Augustinian view by showing his own doctrine to be already implicit in that of Saint Augustine, but here as elsewhere in his writings he far transcends Aristotle in his reconciliation of the particular good of the individual and the common good. (Cf. "Le dilemme Aristotélicien," in A. Brémond, "Archives de philosophie," X, ii, 126; also Suzanne Michel, "La notion Thomiste du bien commun," page 50.) Because of the essential limitations of men in respect to the achievement of that very human perfection to which they are intrinsically determined by nature they are essentially interdependent and all natural inequalities are intended to be mutually supplementary or complementary so as to redound to a common good in which all may participate. But this is only possible under political rule and laws directing each and all the members of the collective body to this common good. Hence, regardless of the status of human nature, whether that of original innocence or our present condition since the Fall, there is the essential exigency in man to live in a well-ordered state under proper government as a necessary means to the attainment of his end as a human being.

Unfortunately, in the struggle that ensued between the Augustinians and those who based their new pretensions for the State on the revived principles of Roman law, little or no attention was paid to this particular point in Saint Thomas's doctrine with apparently the one singular exception of Sir John Fortescue, who was Chancellor toward the end of the reign of Henry VI, and England's greatest lawyer and judge in the turbulent days of the fifteenth century. In the historically important ninth chapter of his "De Laudibus Legum Angliae" (with translation by F. Gregor, notes by A. Amos, and a life of the author by Thomas Lord Clermont, Cincinnati, 1874, page 27) there occurs this notable passage:

> Because it does not always happen that the person presiding over a people is so qualified [as to be a good man] Saint Thomas, in the book which he wrote to the King of Cyprus, wishes that a kingdom could be so instituted as that the king might not be at liberty to tyrannize over his people; which only comes to pass in the present case: that is, when the sovereign power is restrained by political laws. Rejoice, therefore, my good Prince, that such is the law of that kingdom to which you are to inherit, because it will afford both to yourself and subjects *the greatest security and satisfaction.* With such a law, saith the same Saint Thomas, all mankind would have been governed, if, in the Paradise, they had not transgressed the command of God.

If one takes into consideration the fact that, as Amos states it, "this [ninth] chapter is very memorable on account of the repeated reference which has been made to it, in arguing many great constitutional questions in Parliament and in the courts of Westminster" (Ibid., note in commentary, page 28), one is readily led to surmise as to whence the more eminent Whigs in England, such as Burke, and the leading minds among the framers of our own Constitution derived their notion of a state, which, for adequacy and a comprehensive grasp of sound principles, contrasts so strikingly with anything to be found in continental Europe at that time, or even in English-speaking countries themselves, since the days when the hybrid liberalism of those sons of Puritanism and Protestant dissent, the English Utilitarians, came, under the leadership of Bentham, into full political ascendency for the first time on the enactment of the Reform Bill of 1832.

Strange Luck

I beat a greyhound by a hair;
  A tortoise beat me by a mile:
Either my enemies must stare,
  Or else my dearest friends must smile.

Always the thing I couldn't do
  Somehow's the thing I did at once:
The lesson I was sure I knew
  Always has shown that I'm a dunce.

And so perhaps I'll dodge the claws
  Of smirking Satan at the last,
And just make heaven—if the laws
  Of luck hold then as in the past.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

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THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

By OLIVER McKEE, JR.

A CONGRESS with Democratic majorities of approximately three to one in both its branches, heard President Roosevelt on January 4 outline, in its general principles, his 1935 legislative program. If we posit the fiction that the Chief Executive as titular leader of his party commands the votes, on every roll call, of party members in House and Senate, that his will like that of the commander of an army in the field is law to the rank and file, the Seventy-fourth Congress will be merely a ratification body for the legislation proposed by the Executive. But the fiction by no means squares with the facts. Some of the major contests in American political history have seen the President at odds with senators and representatives of his own party. If President Roosevelt is to control the Seventy-fourth Congress as completely as he did its predecessor, his control must rest on a larger base than a mere preponderance of party strength.

Almost unprecedently large though they are, the Democratic majorities in Congress are far from united. Behind the façade lies many a clash of economic interests and many sharply conflicting points of view. If there is a single point of union, it is the fact that half, perhaps more, of those who sit on the majority side of the two chambers owe their election, either wholly or in part, to the popularity and prestige of the President, and the desire of the American people, as evidenced in the November elections, to renew the mandate of the New Deal by electing Democrats to Congress. The New Deal pointedly reminds us of the truth of the old saying that politics makes strange bed fellows. The men and women who voted for the Roosevelt candidates in November, in their philosophies, box the political compass. They include old-fashioned "Jeffersonian" Democrats, Liberals, New Dealers, Radicals, Utopians and others—all joined together in a loosely knit confederacy. Federal cash, bounties and jobs again have bound additional thousands to the New Deal and its candidates by the cement of self-interest.

Since 1932, vast changes have taken place in the Democratic party. Today it has really evolved into the Roosevelt party, which embraces many new elements of numerical strength unknown to the old Democracy of Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. Not only has Mr. Roosevelt attached to his banner these new elements, but his New Deal candidates have won territory that previously was classed as safely and as dependably Republican. Pennsylvania, for example, went Democratic in 1934, with the election of a Democratic governor, senator, and a large Democratic delegation in the House. For the first time Northern and Western Democrats in the House outnumber those from the South. West of the Alleghanies, in the area which so often has determined in the past the outcome of presidential elections, the Roosevelt party succeeded pretty well in maintaining the ground won in 1932. Its principal loss was in Michigan, which now has returned to the Republican fold. Geography is important in any estimate of the relations between the President and the new Congress, for Mr. Roosevelt's strategy obviously aims to accomplish that which other party leaders have essayed, but which none heretofore have accomplished with any durable success—namely, to win a national control through a union of the conservative South and the liberal and radical West.

Entering the White House in March, 1933, as the nation's captain in the drive for recovery, Mr. Roosevelt early effected in the Seventy-third Congress a temporary alliance between the South and the West, and he had enough support from the industrial and normally conservative East to render his control practically complete. A continuation of the alliance between South and West is essential if the Seventy-fourth Congress is to confer on the Executive the authority to push forward its New Deal program, along the lines charted out in the January message. His control over Congress will largely depend on Mr. Roosevelt's success in holding the South and West in line.

Under a rough classification, the Seventy-fourth Congress may be divided into four groups. First, the conservative Republicans: in the Senate hardly a baker's dozen, and in the House about a hundred. Though numerically weak, the Republicans are a fairly compact and cohesive group, and under certain conditions could wield the balance of power either for or against the President. As an opposition, their strength remains negligible. Second, the administration Democrats, numerically the largest of the four groups. Possibly half the Democratic membership in the two Houses will fall under this classification. On practically all issues of major importance, the administration men will follow the President. Third, a small but influential group of conservative Democrats, who have been critical of certain parts of the New Deal program, particularly its financial and fiscal poli-

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cies, who are suspicious of the Brain Trust, and who eye with disapproval the enormous centralization of authority in Washington. The Right-wing Democrats, whose spokesmen include Carter Glass and Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, and David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, may on occasion oppose the President, and if they do so, will bring a substantial reinforcement to the small Republican minorities. And fourth, the group of Left-wing Democrats, most of them from mid- or far-Western states, though not unrepresented elsewhere, notably by Senator Huey Long of Louisiana, and Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi. Until the new Congress moves into its full stride and the underlying divisions come to the fore, the numerical strength of the Left-wingers must remain an unknown quantity. Their numbers, however, are not small, and they promise to put Roosevelt's leadership to the most severe test that is likely to face it this year. The Left group favors inflation, heavy levies on capital and wealth, large federal grants, and advanced social legislation. The appeal of this group in part is a sectional one, a sectionalism that reveals anew the historic antagonism between the West, largely agrarian, and the industrial and capitalistic East.

Beyond the regional and economic cleavages among its membership, the Democratic majority faces other elements militating against party solidarity. Organized minorities, each pleading a special cause which it professes to identify with the public interest, will have their friends at court. Of these organized minorities the war veterans are, politically, among the most powerful. Led and encouraged by their congressional spokesmen, the veterans have launched a drive for full payment of the adjusted service certificates which are not due until 1945. The so-called bonus issue will transcend party lines, and a presidential veto will see many Democrats voting on this issue against Mr. Roosevelt. Organized labor is another powerful group, and in pushing forward its legislative program, which includes the thirty-hour week, labor looks for support from members of both parties in Congress. The inflation "bloc" also transcends party lines, and the farmers, strongly entrenched on Capitol Hill as ever, have friends in both parties. Other groups in the Seventy-fourth Congress will seek legislative approval of various Utopian schemes to redistribute wealth, to end poverty, and so on. Here again party lines will mean little. The most publicized of these Utopian projects is the Townsend plan for $200 a month pensions for those over sixty—a project with much popular backing throughout the country. Since many members of Congress hesitate to antagonize any considerable number of their constituents, organized minorities will continue to wield much power in the new Congress.

It is important to bear in mind that the entire membership of the House and one-third of the Senate were elected in a year of profound economic unrest. Just as past depressions gave an impetus to greenbackism, and third party movements, so the economic conditions of the past five years have brought in their wake a demand for experimentation, and legislative cure-alls. The Seventy-fourth Congress contains an unusually large number of new members, many of them elected on reform and Utopian platforms. Then, too, the desire grows apace, even among the Democrats, for a reassertion of congressional independence, and for the individual members, something better than the rôle of a "rubber stamp" to the Executive.

In the aggregate, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt faces many potential focuses of opposition to the administration's program. But the President is an expert in legislative psychology, and a master politician. At Albany, as governor of New York, he displayed consummate skill in dealing with a "hostile" legislature—that is, one controlled by the political opposition. In the Seventy-third Congress, he achieved a notable success as the directing head of its legislative program. The secret of the control which the President has exercized over Congress up to date is mainly in his skill in compromise, and in his power of persuasion.

Mr. Roosevelt seldom refuses to yield enough, or modify his position sufficiently, to win the support of a majority of House and Senate. As a result, he has suffered few major defeats. On the Economy Act, he yielded to authorize a liberalization of the veterans' benefits, he compromised on the Thomas amendment, calling for modified inflation, with discretionary power in the Executive, and he modified his position on some of the important elements of the New Deal program. Yet, throughout, his was the whip hand, and the President, not Congress, charted the course of the New Deal in its initial phase.

Not only has Mr. Roosevelt evidenced a willingness to meet Congress at least part of the way, but he has made a special point of establishing a closer liaison between the White House and Capitol Hill than has existed in our day. Congressional committees are kept informed of the actions of executive departments, and before the President lays before Congress an important message, or other legislative proposal, he nearly always consults in advance the chairman of committees in whose jurisdiction the subject matter falls.

The President's personality is also an important element in his successful control over the legislature. The gracious greeting and sympathetic welcome which congressmen receive at the White House disarm many a potential foe. Few

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Chief Executives have been better liked by Congress than Mr. Roosevelt.

Unlike Theodore Roosevelt, to whom the big stick was a fundamental weapon, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his relations with Congress, prefers the finesse of diplomacy. In riding down a foe, and smiting him hip and thigh, or humbling an opposition, T. R. used the big stick with a huge and obvious delight. But in so doing, he made many an enemy. Because the pressure that the second Roosevelt directs is not that of direct action, because there is more subtlety in the methods he employs against an opponent, this does not mean that his control over Congress is less effective, or that as an adversary he is less to be feared. A rapier thrust can reach its mark as effectively as the bludgeoning of a club. An astute politician, the President knows what vast importance many representatives and senators place upon their federal patronage. On the plea that other matters were of greater import, he withheld action on the general distribution of patronage until the Seventy-third Congress had ratified the bulk of the program framed by the administration and its Brain Trust to give legislative expression to the New Deal. Restive and rebellious though many of them were under the delay in distributing the spoils to the faithful, to secure their patronage at all, Democrats in Congress were under the compulsion first to vote for the bills sent to Capitol Hill with White House endorsement. Patronage has remained a powerful lever in the hands of the Executive to keep the Democrats in line with the administration. His adroiter method of dealing with the politicians, his preference at times for expediency, the flexibility of his mind, and his willingness to reject an experiment that does not meet the pragmatic test, have given him a mastery over the legislature which the first Roosevelt, the big stick showing in his hands, seldom enjoyed. Barring some unforeseen upheaval, Mr. Roosevelt should be able to control the new Congress, as he did its predecessor, in spite of the threats of blocks and organized minorities.

In dealing with Congress, the President has been mightily aided by his skill in marshaling public opinion behind his program, and dramatizing the issues in which he is interested. It was in response to public opinion, for example, that he authorized a retreat on the NRA front that has projected into the picture a vastly different NRA than that over which General Hugh S. Johnson initially ruled. Following the munitions disclosures of the Nye committee, Mr. Roosevelt again chose the proper moment to launch his drive for legislation to take the profits out of a future war. In the last analysis, Congress is the mirror of the contemporary public mind, and few of its members care long to array themselves against public opinion, if positive and insistent in its pressure.

As long as the President retains without substantial loss the confidence and backing of the people, as long as public opinion looks to the legislature to uphold and support the Executive, Congress may be expected, in the main, to do what the President wants it to do. If popular support weakens, if the popularity of the President wanes and if the policies of the administration later encounter widespread hostility, Congress will quickly reflect the change in the winds, and Mr. Roosevelt may have as much trouble with the law-makers as some of his predecessors had.

All this, however, lies in the future, if it is to happen at all. As the Seventy-fourth Congress begins its work, President Roosevelt, still strongly fortified by popular confidence and support, seems assured of winning from Congress most of the things that he regards as essential. Under Mr. Roosevelt's prescription, the new Congress will chart the future course of the New Deal, and determine its form. It is on the record of the present Congress again, and the progress of recovery in 1935, that the President will largely base his campaign for reelection in 1936. For Mr. Roosevelt, therefore, it is vitally important that he maintain his control over Congress, that he hold in check its Left-wing elements, and that Congress give to the New Deal a form that will be approved by the American people when they go to the polls next year.

Trophy for a Tyrant

This is the body of our dead king.
Yet should we keen?
Now the sunlight's on the sill
and we may voyage where we will,
deliberate as dream.

The *Misere Cordia* so sing
that long this scene,
this feast of palls, all tears deceiving,
be memoried more as gay than grieving
and celebrate as green.

Gone is the body of our dead king.
This be our gain:
his castle's barracks for the blind;
his ermine's mantle for all kind
above the lowly slain.

The beautiful, the bold, and young
now deem the dune,
wherein's the body of our dead king,
a fertile place for furrowing.
So well away so soon?

C. A. Millspaugh.

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ART, LITERATURE, AND THE THESIS

By KURT F. REINHARDT

SPEAKING on the nature of poetry, Boccaccio, in his commentary on the "Divina Comedia," calls poetry a form of theology. Charles Maurras, in his preface to "La Musique Intérieur," holds that ontology would be a better name, "for poetry inclines above all to the roots of the knowledge of Being." Such a statement implies an acknowledgment that poetry may truly and justly be called an interpreter of life, thus raising poetry to the rank of a social science and stressing its social function and significance. There seems to be an essential agreement between such a viewpoint and the time-honored opinion of Aristotle that "poetry is something more philosophic and of graver import than history, since the statements of poetry are of the nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are singulars." What is true of poetry is true of literature in general and of all the arts, the servile as well as the liberal. A realization of the significance of art as a carrier of social forces is felt in the increasing preoccupation with the problems of literary criticism and the principles of the appreciation of art and literature, an interest which has given rise to multiple theories and schools.

In recent years these discussions have grown into heated argumentations, and these theories have undergone a practical test when some authors have tried to embody them in their works. Authors have been extolled because they complied with a certain code of literary dogmatics, others have been condemned and ostracized because they sinned against certain commandments of literary dictatorship. These latest developments are of particular interest because they are partly an outgrowth of the political and economic upheavals that we have witnessed in various countries, and they are partly in direct proportion to the claims and intentions of the so-called totalitarian state to subordinate all cultural and intellectual efforts and creative activities to the welfare and glorification of the state or the nation. Totalitarian or absolute state ideals, as those promulgated in Russia, Italy or Germany, seem to generate new and unusual standards of literary and artistic values and new and extraordinary approaches, criteria, and principles of appreciation. In view of such discussions and such claims and demands it seems to become increasingly necessary to inquire once more into first principles in order to check the propensities of a vague emotionalism and a pseudo-romantic irrationalism and establish a firm and rational basis for an adequate appraisal of works of art and literature.

The problem, then, resolves itself into the question as to the self-sufficiency of literary and artistic creations; or, in other words, the actual problem involves the validity of the doctrine of "L'art pour l'art": Is there still something to be said in defense of art for art's sake or do we have to discard altogether the theory of self-sufficing esthetic values? If the latter question is answered in the affirmative, then I can see no reason why we should not submit to the new dogmas which consider art and literature as the handmaids of state absolutism or of any kind of absolutism and dogmatism, be it religious, esthetic, moral, social or philosophical in kind. If we accept the premise that esthetic values have to serve preter-esthetic purposes and ends, then the totalitarian state is right when it demands the services of art and literature for the propagation of such ideals as the state considers as supreme values, such as national honor and integrity, racial purity and physical and biological fitness.

The question may be subdivided by asking: (1) Is a work of literature or a work of art an independent and self-sufficing organism? (2) How does a thesis affect the literary or esthetic value of such a work? (3) What relationship exists between esthetic values and moral values?

When the slogan, "L'art pour l'art," was first coined about a century ago, and when the doctrine was adopted and defended by Théophile Gautier in the preface to his "Poésies complètes," the emphasis was placed upon the demand that the one and only end of a work of art should be to strive for the realization of the beautiful, and that this end can hardly be attained when the artist attempts to make his work tributary to non-artistic purposes. This statement was later affirmed but also enlarged and exaggerated by Emile Zola when he declared in the collection of essays that bears the title, "Le roman expérimental," that to write a poor style was the only crime that any writer or poet could possibly commit. Rightly understood, however, the doctrine of "L'art pour l'art" means nothing but the affirmation of the significance of formal beauty within its legitimate and particular sphere.

In trying to define this particular sphere of art, some claim that art is exclusively governed by esthetic laws and without relation and under no responsibility to life, and others consider art as a mere vehicle for the spreading of political, social or religious ideas. Both positions contain an overstatement of a fundamental truth. Without the content of actual and vital experiences the

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work of art will be void of life, isolated from life and foreign to it. Without the quality of formal beauty the work will lack artistic perfection. It will be governed by intentions and rules that are extrinsic to its nature. It will suffer from the imposition of an alien aim and end. A pure esthete, like Oscar Wilde, would make life a means of literature. The state or the individual who uses art to preach a political or social gospel, makes art and literature the means of life and death. Both, the pure esthete and the restless propagandist, forget the metaphysical transcendence of art.

An undue expansion of the theory of "L'art pour l'art" we find, for instance, in the poetry of the German author, Stefan George, and in the philosophy of life that is propagated by his disciples. In fact, he expands the esthetic principle so as to cover life in its totality. He says:

> We see in each and every event, we see in every epoch and age nothing but a means to artistic emotion and an esthetic thrill. While in former ages even the freest among the free had to make use of a moral guise, we have now arrived at a stage where we find such a moral guise entirely worthless and useless.

The German poet, Rainer Maria Rilke, delves much deeper into the essence of art when he says:

> Verses are not, as people imagine, simply feelings. . . . They are experiences. In order to write a single verse, one must see many cities and men and things; one must get to know animals and the flight of birds, and the gestures that the little flowers make when they open out in the morning. . . . There must be memories of many nights of love, each one unlike the others. . . . One must also have been beside the dying, one must have sat beside the dead. And still it is not yet enough to have memories. . . . Only when they have been turned to blood within us . . . only then can it happen that in a most rare hour the first word of a poem arises in their midst and goes forth from them.

Beauty is a property of Being and as such belongs to the order of transcendentals. It is of the same order as truth and goodness. All these properties of Being are universal concepts that transcend any given class of objects. The ideal or universal oneness of beauty is broken up into numberless individual aspects of particularized beauty, in accordance with numberless particular situations, circumstances or contexts. Plato says that every form is a certain irradiation proceeding from the first brightness or that every form partakes in the divine brightness. If we ponder over this metaphysical or transcendental nature of beauty, then we may justly say that art also in which beauty becomes incarnate, must be considered in this twofold way: first of all, in its character of universality, and then again in its manifold individual aspects. Jacques Maritain says:

> Art as such is *supra tempus* and *supra locum*. It transcends, like the mind, every national boundary and finds its limits only in the infinite fullness of beauty. Like science, philosophy and civilization, by its very nature and object it is universal. But it does not reside in an angelic mind: it is subject in a soul which is the substantial form of a living body.

Art, therefore, depends upon everything which the race and the state, geographical and ethnological circumstances, intellectual tradition and political and social history, transmit to the body and to the mind of man. Art has its roots in a certain natural soil, in a certain country, in a certain age. Just as art becomes feeble and anemic when it tries to subsist in a nebulous no-man's-land of bloodless abstractions, so art is likewise exposed to starvation and death when it is made the slave of a racial, national or religious ideology. There exists a decisive difference between an ethnological and territorial attachment of art to the land and intellectual climate of its origin and a metaphysical or religious devotion to the fetish of state-idolatry. A clear distinction must also be made between art as a "symbolic representation of the infinite" (A. W. Schlegel) and an art that is sweating in the servitude of a religious ideology.

The artist's work, then, is a continuation of the creation of the *unus et summus artifex* and a collaboration with the first and final Cause of all being. The artist's objective is to create a work of beauty, which is equivalent to saying a work that is resplendent with the brilliance of form. Artistic form in the metaphysical sense is a form that is impregnated with the splendor of intelligibility and truth. It is such qualities as integrity, proportion and effulgence that provide for the enjoyment of beauty, and it is the radiation of these qualities that relates the beautiful with the true and the good, or that links esthetics with metaphysics and ethics.

According to Aristotle, the contemplation of sensuous beauty is the cause of sensuous love and, similarly, the contemplation of spiritual beauty or spiritual goodness is the cause of spiritual love. In other words, the contemplation of the beautiful reveals its inherent values and makes it desirable. This desirability implies, above all, the value or quality of goodness, for good is, according to Aristotle, what all desire. The beautiful, then, becomes a symbolization of the good. In its complete consummation, this contemplation and enjoyment of the beautiful brings peace and tranquillity to the human mind. "The beautiful," says Kant, "is what gives pleasure universally without a concept, or, the beautiful is that which fills the mind with a disinterested pleasure." The beautiful, as the mind now contemplates it, is no longer either an object of knowledge or an object of voluntary appetition. In the contemplation of the beautiful the mind "drinks the clarity of being,"

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says Maritain. "Beautiful is what pleases on sight," or, what pleases by its mere appearance, or, better yet, what becomes the object of an intuition. This is the meaning of Thomas Aquinas's "Pulchrum est quod visum placet." Schopenhauer and Hegel add their voices affirmatively to assure the validity of these definitions as transmitted by the greatest of medieval and the greatest of modern philosophers. For Hegel the contemplation of the beautiful means essentially an escape from the principle of individuation and from the complexities of the active life. For Schopenhauer, Kant's *interesseloses Wohlgefallen* carries the meaning of a temporary liberation from the arbitrariness of the blind forces of voluntarism.

Thomas Aquinas again, speaking of the beauty of a painting, stresses the point that the perfection of the work of art is essentially a formal perfection, a perfection that is revealed in composition and representation, and that this quality of perfection is by no means impaired by a certain ugliness of the subject matter ("Summa Theologica," Ia, Q. 39, a.8). After all, the subject matter is merely the matter of the work of art. A novelist, for instance, has to present us with a true and genuine interpretation and representation of life. He should not exclude the aspects of evil. Life is not all sweetness, nor is it all perfection. The writer, therefore, will have to use somber as well as bright hues. It is important that his intellectual horizon be wide enough, his comprehension of human life deep enough, to embrace reality in all its shades, grades and aspects. If the writer has been able to reach the high altitude required by his exalted calling, then the light of his intellect will shine upon his subject matter, calmly, justly, lovingly, and in due proportion. He will produce a work of beauty for the sake of beauty, a work of art for the sake of art. He will produce a work well executed and therefore a work which deserves the mark and attribute of good as well as of beautiful.

This brings us finally down to the question as to the interrelation of esthetic and moral values in a work of art or a work of literature. It is a mistake to assume with Kant that morality is a world of imperatives that comes down from the sky of liberty, a world of imperatives that is foreign to the realm of being. A morality which is not firmly rooted in reality is suspended somewhere between heaven and earth, neither able to die in peace nor able to face the battles of life. An integral realism in art and literature is therefore only possible for a type of art that is wide open to both the good and evil of the universe.

If the artist, then, has that ingenious grasp of reality that enables him to interpret his vital experiences in a brilliant form, will his work of necessity be of a moral nature? In other words, can it be said and defended that ethics and esthetics belong to the same species? It was Shaftesbury's idea to make esthetics the basis of morality and, if we believe André Gide, morality is nothing but a branch of esthetics. Here we meet again with an undue and unnecessary distortion of the doctrine of "L'art pour l'art." True enough, the artist and writer should serve no purpose or end that is of an extrinsic nature in relation to his work and its esthetic categories. On the other hand, artistic expression is self-expression of the artist, and the thing made in a way mirrors its maker. Moral deformities in the artist, therefore, are likely to be reflected in his work. It is equally true, however, that it would be a mistake to demand that the artist or writer become a wilful promoter of morality. The ennobling and purifying effect that intrinsically pertains to any real work of art, is the one and singular moral force which we can legitimately ascribe to and derive from artistic creation of any type. But morality or ethics as such must rest upon their own specific fundament and cannot be confounded with the metaphysical good that is a property of all being and therefore also a property of art. The principles of ethics, however, are in essential accordance with the rational nature of man and its perfectibility.

In point of morality, two exaggerated statements have sprung from overstressed truisms. We cannot accept Renan's contention of the writer's autonomy and irresponsibility. He says, "To be able to think freely, a man must be certain that no consequences will follow whatever he writes." This is libertinistic snobbery on the part of the creative artist. André Gide and Oscar Wilde corroborate this perverted esthetics. André Gide claims that "the artist is asked in only after dinner, his task is to provide not food but intoxication," while Oscar Wilde tells us that "the highest art rejects the burden of the human mind." The other extreme endangers the legitimate sphere of art either through indifference or through dogmatism and sinister fanaticism. We are unable to join a Savonarola and his successors in their crusade against beauty. We may smile today at the intemperate zeal of this unfortunate man, we may smile at the fatal misconceptions he nourished in his views on art and poetry. But when we see him turn against poetry because he thinks "it ranks lowest among the sciences," we see him join the procession of those who would destroy all the works of art and literature that are not in conformity with their political, social or religious creeds, superstitions and idolatries. They forget that the artist may or may not be concerned with what they think should exclusively concern him. The real concern of the real artist is to produce a work that is well made and therefore good and pleasing and a splendor of truth.

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ECONOMIC INTERNATIONALISM[1]

By JOHN A. RYAN

IT IS astonishing, not to say discouraging, to find men of leadership stressing the possibilities of extending our foreign trade in the face of obvious facts which show that this is practically impossible. Secretary of State Hull is quoted as declaring that we have a surplus producing capacity of $20,000,000,000 to $30,000,000,000 annually, and intimating that this surplus could and should somehow be exported. Nicholas Murray Butler is alleged to have asserted that the plight of our farmers was due to our high tariffs which keep out goods that could be sent us in exchange for our surplus products of agriculture. When Mr. Hoover was Secretary of Commerce, he said that we must look to foreign markets to absorb our surplus both of manufactured and of farm products. None of these men seems to have asked himself what countries would take these great surpluses and what goods we should be willing to accept from them in payment. The general fact is that the exports of both our agricultural and industrial products have considerably declined and there is no indication that this trend can be reversed to any considerable extent. The following statement in the recent volume, "Our Economic Revolution," by Professor Arthur B. Adams, summarizes the new condition confronting our international trade:

> Because of the development of self-sufficiency of various nations, the total volume of foreign trade in the future necessarily will not increase greatly. The foreign trade in manufactured goods, especially, will inevitably decline as a result of the industrialization of all nations. Also, there is a tendency for trade in food products to decline as a result of the agricultural self-sufficiency policy of many countries.

A particular factor which has appeared in recent years, causing our export opportunities to diminish, has been the establishment with American money and under American direction of many manufacturing plants in several foreign countries. American ingenuity and capital are now engaged in producing goods abroad which were formerly produced at home and shipped abroad. For example, practically every important country is now making shoes instead of importing them from Lynn or St. Louis, and many countries are making automobiles instead of importing them from Detroit.

Nevertheless, there is still a good market for automobiles in many foreign countries. Some increase is possible of cotton exports, petroleum, copper, machinery and some minor items. But the total feasible increase is insignificant. Whatever possibilities exist in this field should, however, be utilized. We should export and import all the goods that we can with advantage to ourselves and to the foreigners. The principal instrument for bringing this about is undoubtedly reciprocal tariff treaties with particular countries for particular classes of goods.

I return for a moment to Secretary Wallace's moderate conception of the possibilities of international trade and of the relation between it and the Recovery Program. Maldistribution of income, he says, is one of the chief causes of the decline in trade with foreign countries. Therefore, we should aim to increase the consuming power of the masses, partly as a substitute for greater consumption of our goods by foreigners and partly as a means of paying for more imported goods.

> Revision of our tariff downward will have far better prospects if our New Deal succeeds than if it fails. Success in the New Deal will mean an increase in and a better distribution of purchasing power. Manufacturers and wage-earners will be no longer in terror for their businesses or their jobs, and will be quicker to acknowledge the necessity for the country to buy where it expects to sell. If we can set our own chaotic system into better order, there will be not only more willingness, there will be more power to buy abroad. With a margin over necessities, the average citizen will be able to pay for useful and desirable foreign goods.

There are three particular and practical reasons why the United States should stress economic self-sufficiency rather than an increase of foreign trade. In the first place, all the other great nations have adopted the former policy. Therefore, the opportunities in foreign trade are not nearly so great as they were in the nineteenth century, nor are they likely to become greater in the near future. Mr. Keynes says:

> Experience accumulates to prove that most modern mass production processes can be performed in most countries and climates with almost equal efficiency [Loc. cit.].

Dean Donham compares the effort to increase our foreign trade to the futility of reciprocal laundering as a means of livelihood:

> We forget that in physical equipment and in trained labor, all these nations are equipped to do miscellaneous washing on all-purpose washing machines [Loc. cit.].

[1] This is the second and concluding instalment of this article.

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A realistic examination of the foreign trade situation always brings us to the overpowering fact that the important countries are able to turn out more staple goods than the world markets can absorb with profit to the producers and exporters.

A systematic endeavor to intensify this situation, to disturb the existing economic self-sufficiency of other nations through the employment of high-pressure salesmen, whether they draw their salaries from the Department of Commerce or from private exporting concerns, or through such stupid legislative devices as the Webb-Pomerene Act, should be avoided as bad economics and a menace to international good-will. Whatever increases in our foreign trade seem desirable should be automatically brought about through a gradual reduction of our tariffs, especially certain flagrantly iniquitous schedules, and through particular trade agreements with particular countries. Inasmuch as our foreign trade is considerably less than one-tenth of our total commerce, and inasmuch as we can produce by far the greater part of the goods that we need as cheaply as we can import them, we ought to devote most of our attention to domestic production, trade and distribution.

The sound reason why we should concentrate upon economic self-sufficiency is suggested by the fact that we can exercise an immensely greater degree of control over our own industrial arrangements than over the economic practises and policies of foreign countries. We cannot regulate the variations of foreign tariffs or industrial technology or fashions or prejudices or habits. But we can determine the kind of industrial organization and the kind of society that seem good for the United States. It is not necessary to labor this point further.

In the third place, we ought to set our own house in order as an example to the other nations. If we can, by taking sufficient thought and effort, emerge successfully from the industrial depression which has paralyzed all the countries of the world for more than four years, and if we can set up a more just and stable economic order than our or any other nation has known hitherto, we shall be doing a greater service to our fellow men in foreign lands than we could perform in a hundred years through attempts to manipulate international trade. The most thoughtful foreign observers recognize this situation and are looking hopefully upon the great experiment which we are now prosecuting.

The last paragraph suggests specifically the international aspects of the policies of the New Deal. According to the prepossessions of the persons judging, these policies have been, respectively, praised and blamed as exemplifying economic nationalism. Regardless of their ultimate effects, which are still on the knees of the gods, do they in operation tend to promote or diminish good-will between the United States and other countries?

None of the provisions in the codes of fair practise for the various industries has any direct bearing upon our economic relations with other countries. The National Industrial Recovery Act does, however, give the President the power to raise tariffs upon, or even exclude entirely from our markets, imports which might undersell some of the products of industries operating under the codes. This power might be exercised in cases where prices have to be raised in order to cover the higher production costs resulting from higher wages and shorter hours.

Nevertheless, the danger thus presented to our relations with foreign countries is not serious. Under the operation of the New Deal, no "infant industries" will be established to call for new duties on imports. If the tariff should have to be raised to prevent large numbers of workers from being displaced through foreign competition, this condition would obtain in only a few industries and the tariff would affect such a small volume of imports that no foreign nation would have serious ground for displeasure. Moreover, the industries in question could be more directly safeguarded by a system of bounties or subsidies. This would be less costly to our own consumers and less offensive to foreign exporters. Indeed, the subsidy method should have been applied long ago in our cane and beet sugar industries.

The monetary policies adopted, or to be adopted, as part of the Recovery Program have a direct influence upon our foreign commercial relations. If we succeed in the attempt to maintain a managed currency we cannot easily bring about a system of stabilized foreign exchange. Nevertheless, a managed currency seems to be the lesser evil. The maintenance of justice between debtors and creditors, the ability to make contracts which will not be injuriously affected by a change in prices, not to mention other considerations, render a stable domestic price level of paramount importance. Especially in the United States are stable domestic prices more important than stable international exchange, since only a very small proportion of our people are directly interested in foreign trade. John Maynard Keynes declares that the same is true even for his country, where the proportion of the population interested in foreign trade is much greater than in the United States ("Essays in Persuasion," page 196).

If a managed currency and stability of domestic prices can be achieved, the resulting benefits to our own people will be so great as to outweigh vastly the inconveniences inflicted upon foreign trade and foreign countries. If the experiment is

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successful, the way will be open to other nations to attain the same great benefits.

There is one possible effect of our Recovery Program which might become immensely helpful to all the nations, but which has, up to now, received very little attention. It is a drastic lowering of the rate of interest. The central object and method of the Recovery Program is to provide labor with more purchasing power in order that products may be taken off the market and business activity increased. This means that labor must obtain a larger share of the national product. But labor cannot obtain a larger share unless a smaller share goes to capital. A lower rate of interest would not only be a great benefit to labor and a great stimulus to production, but it might provide a solution of the otherwise insoluble problem of keeping the volume of debt within manageable limits, of enabling increasing production to keep up with increasing debts. If the latter problem is not solved, the collapse of the capitalist system is inevitable. If the problem as it now exists in the United States can be solved through a reduction in the interest rate, the example will be of incalculable value to the other nations. Compared with its potential good effects the inconveniences of tariffs, managed currency and all the other policies of economic self-sufficiency will become insignificant.

I conclude with a quotation from the work by Professor Adams, already cited:

"We as a people have accepted the theory that business recovery in the United States will depend much less on the settlement of the international economic questions than on the success of our own national industrial policy. We believe that it is possible to have a sound business recovery in this country without having a general world business recovery."

Song in Season

(Dedicated to the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis.)

If ever this my land shall need
My part returned in wealth or deed,
Write down my father's name to me
As servant to this sovereignty.

So long as this my state shall hold
Its brotherhood above its gold,
Back, to the want, my store shall yield
The tenant's tithe from forge and field.

But here, when Sorrow lies abed,
The twins of Doom at foot and head,
In this my street, by this my door—
What then is mine is mine no more.

EDWIN QUARLES.

MEXICO MOURNING

By EUPHEMIA VAN RENSSELAER WYATT

THE DOVES were calling in the persistent minor cadence that is the wistful echo of all the southern Pacific coast when we started off that morning from Magdalena, a small town near the border in the state of Sonora. Magdalena has neither pavements nor a shopping district, but its barracks and City Hall are grandiose, and facing the green square where the military band plays by the fountain is the venerable Church of San Francisco. But the great wooden doors were heavily barred. The Governor of Sonora had had another disagreement with the Bishop, and the priests were again in exile.

There was quite a little group gathered before the church: the inevitable old women in their black shawls, and a young farmer and his wife who had just come in from some ranch. As they crossed themselves and discussed the situation, I noticed that one by one the old ladies were slipping round the corner. I followed and caught sight of a black skirt fluttering into a gateway down the street. A long white wall extended from the church and, running after the black shawl, I found myself at a strong wooden postern. On this I knocked. It was opened cautiously and, after a moment's hesitation, the old lady drew me inside. Indicating caution with a gesture as dramatic as that of a Catalonian conspirator, she led me across a weedy garden into the sacristy. Unlike the deserted rectory and garden, here was a scene of great activity. About half a dozen women were at work, polishing the candlesticks, filling the flower vases and preparing to sweep out the church. They invited me to enter.

The Church of San Francisco had not been neglected. The altars had their linens, there were fresh flowers everywhere, the candles were ready to light—but the tabernacle door stood open. There seemed something so tragic in that high altar without its Host that I began to cry. I found that most of the other women were crying too. In hushed whispers as if the Blessed Sacrament still were there, they showed me some of the treasures of their church. All my Spanish was a general smattering of Romance languages and a phrase book bought in San Diego, but when the oldest old lady present began to pour a long story into my ear I found it intelligible. Emotion seems to circumvent vocabulary. She told me—or I think she did—that she was the mother of the priest and she had no idea where he had gone. She hoped he had reached Nogales. He had no money whatever.

"Surely God must punish those," she cried, "who have taken so much away from us." She appealed to the effigy of Saint Francis—a strange old wooden figure lying on a bier. Polished and smoothed by the many lips that had touched it, the face of the saint was calm in gentle patience. It was the sandaled feet of the Franciscans who first trod the roads the soldiers were improving today.

The priest's mother took me back to the garden gate.

"Pray for us, pray for us!" cried the other women as I passed out. "Pray for us in Mexico."

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Seven Days' Survey

The Church.—The Apostolate of the Sea continues to expand its efforts in different parts of the world. At Rennes, France, the Jeunesse Maritime Chrétienne recently held its first national congress. The Apostolado del Mar Club at Barcelona, Spain, has been enlarged by new apartments and is preparing to operate a restaurant for unemployed seamen. A new Seamen's Institute has been opened at Wellington, New Zealand. A group of Catholic Sea Actionists of several nationalities has been organized at Yokohama, Japan. * * * French Catholics rejoiced at the recent audience of Foreign Minister Laval with the Holy Father, the first time since 1870 that a French Cabinet Minister had visited the Vatican in an official capacity. * * * In order to appraise English film productions before they reach this country, the Motion Picture Bureau of the International Federation of Catholic Alumnae is planning to organize a pre-view group in England. * * * In a public letter to all Evangelical parishes and presbyteries Right Reverend Dr. Heinzelmann, Superintendent of the Evangelical Church in Austria, characterized press reports of persecution of Austrian Protestants as "exaggerated or untrue." In the Archdiocese of Vienna thirty new Catholic churches have been built in the last three years. * * * The French League of the Corner of Earth, which has arranged for more than 400,000 workmen's gardens and enabled many of the workers to become owners of these vegetable garden plots, has just celebrated its fortieth anniversary. * * * In the Diocese of Nellore, India, the Sisters of Jesus, Mary and Joseph of Bois-le-Duc, Holland, nursed 278,500 patients last year. * * * The number of students for the priesthood in Czechoslovakia has grown from 430 to 2,009 in the course of the last ten years; 354 priests are to be ordained this year. * * * This year's week of Epiphany sermons at St. Patrick's, Soho Square, London, were preached in Latin, Portuguese, Polish, French, Dutch, Spanish, German, Italian, Lithuanian, English and Gaelic, respectively.

The Nation.—The administration plan for unemployment insurance, old-age pensions and benefits to needy and dependent mothers and children was offered to Congress. This applied principally to safeguards for the future. The new work relief plan designed to transfer immediately 3,500,000 employables from relief rolls to payrolls and 1,500,000 unemployables to local care, was sharing the attention of Congress, and the two measures were expected to be promptly passed. Consideration of United States participation in the World Court was dragging on to lengths dangerous to the hopes of those pressing for participation. * * * Outside of the weather and the bitter needs of the poor—constants which though of interest to everyone are not news—the week might be described as government week, as most of the nationally significant developments took place in this field. * * * Members of the Industrial Emergency Committee and of the National Industrial Recovery Board announced after a conference with the President that his next proposals to Congress will have to do with legislation for strengthening the NRA. * * * The President ruled that the National Labor Relations Board would have no jurisdiction to entertain complaints on cases of industrial dispute in industries that have code provisions for their own labor boards to make "final and enforceable decisions." This was decided on the Jennings case before the Labor Relations Board established by the Newspaper Code. Repercussions in labor and industrial circles were expected. * * * Several thousand community celebrations of the President's birthday were held on January 30 as benefits for a fund to be devoted to treatment of infantile paralysis patients. * * * An administration bill was introduced to increase the bond-issuing power of the United States Treasury by $11,000,000,000 to $45,000,000,000. * * * Jesse H. Jones, chairman of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, reported on the $7,000,000,000 disbursements of the corporation since its formation in the Hoover administration: $2,027,064,236 between February 2, 1932, and March 3, 1933, and $4,821,008,987 subsequently.

The Wide World.—Britain's most astute politicians wrestled through a bout of wits inaugurated by Lloyd George's assertion that a "New Deal" was needed in order to promote recovery. It was widely assumed that on the strength of the popularity of an extensive public works program, the veteran politician would patch up his differences with the Labour party and return to governmental eminence. But everybody else came out for the same idea, even Winston Churchill praising it warmly. Accordingly the "New Deal" may triumph, but Lloyd George may not. * * * Flushed with victory in the Saar, where Marxist parties scarcely managed to rally the Jewish protest vote, the nationalist wing of the Hitler movement began to think of other territorial rectifications. Propaganda concerning Memel was dispatched in all directions, tons of it also reaching the United States. Lithuania massed troops along the border; and it was rumored that a somewhat similar mobilization of Nazi forces took place. The presence of munitions dumps and fortifications in East Prussia was said to have been detected by Lithuanian voyagers. It appeared, however, that the Nazis would argue for a plebiscite in the Memel region. The Belgian government was alarmed at unrest in the districts of Eupen and Malmedy, taken from Germany by the Versailles Treaty, and had to reckon also with a more than usually vigorous flare-up of Flemish separatist propaganda. Meanwhile Poland, influenced by the outcome of the Saar controversy and worried about Danzig (spokesmen for which did not restrain themselves at Geneva), began to manifest very considerable coolness to the theory of Polish-Prussian friendship. * * * Official

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figures on Germany's foreign trade showed a deficit for the year 1934 of $69,825,000. The net results of Hitler's contribution to German commerce were even more interesting. Imports have increased in value more than $50,000,000, while exports have declined to the tune of slightly more than $385,000,000. This showing is not, however, as bad as it seems, first because trade has declined almost everywhere on the Continent during this period (1932-1934) and second because the moratorium on foreign debts has "saved" Germany almost as much money as was lost by reason of the debacle of foreign trade. * * * Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich won a libel suit against Karl Rohm, Nazi editor of the *Völkische Herold*. The Cardinal had been accused of political activity and charged with harboring separatists.

* * * *

Business Strains Ahead.—The three-cornered race goes on in the United States between, one, private business seeking to effect such a measure of uptrend that public confidence will be restored in business leaders to cut down unemployment and distribute equitably the goods and services of the country's industry; and, two, government which is more and more inclined to paternalism with its satisfying concomitant for office-holders of patronage to distribute to presumably grateful recipients; and, three, the extremists who believe that only by revolution, by scrapping existing institutions and a dictatorship of the proletariat will destiny and the expectations of dialectical materialism be fulfilled. Those in the grandstand, all with high stakes on one or the other of the runners, are tense, waiting to see if Number One can sustain his stride around the turn. Mr. Henry I. Harriman, president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, whispers hoarsely in the paddock of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, "Major depressions, such as the present one, usually go through a six-year cycle. There are three years of declining activity. Then demand for clothing and other worn-out commodities revives. This is followed by a revival of demand for heavier goods, such as building material and factory equipment. One steel man has told me that operations will be at 75 percent of capacity within a few months." And he declared on a much-mooted point that unemployment which was around 12,000,000 in March, 1933, has been reduced by 5,000,000. All indices of business, though variously discounted and variously explained, have over a two-year period at least leveled off from the unbroken toboggan slide from 1929 to 1933. The race, however, and the margins of the victors remain still unsettled.

Murals and Murder in Mexico.—Literally graphic evidence of the militant anti-religious character of the proposed socialist education in Mexico is afforded by photographs received by *America* of an exhibition of paintings designed for decorations in the Mexican public schools. These paintings were executed by disciples of Diego Rivera, *America* reports, and were exhibited from November 25 to December 9 in the buildings of what used to be the Jesuit College of St. Peter and St. Paul. Apparently they are in direct line from Russian Bolshevist anti-God art. Their mixed incitements to hate are described by *America* as "blasphemies, attacks on religion and the Pope, bishops, and priests, anti-religious slogans . . . mingled with attacks on liquor, capitalism, imperialism, and Fascism. A grotesque figure of God accompanies an inscription, 'God exists only in man's brain'; a cross and a glass are inscribed, 'Pulque and religion brutalize you'; a cross is extracted from a head and a book inserted, with the words, 'Destroy religion with science.'" The same paper also reports, "Garrido Canabal, Secretary of Agriculture, has forced the girls in his ministry to dress in black skirts and red blouses, to read scurrilous books on religion and to ally themselves with Freemasonry. He is shortly going to have in the courtyard of the building an *auto da fé*, in which will be burnt publicly the objects of religion stolen by his strong-arm squad of Red Shirts." *America* refers editorially to the fact that, "after the inauguration of General Cardenas, Mr. Daniels called on the infamous Garrido Canabal, leader of the Red Shirts, who are murdering Catholics, gave out a laudatory statement about him, and promised to come to see him often."

Catholic Social Study.—A praiseworthy experiment in social study has been sponsored by the Minnesota branch of the Central-Verein in cooperation with St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota. During 1934, a conference led to the discussion of ways and means to provide social leadership and to determine how the doctrine of the papal encyclicals could best be applied to existing conditions. The result was the formation of an Institute for Social Study, to meet at St. John's Abbey. Plans for the coming months have now been drawn up, and provisions made for five monthly week-end conferences of two days each. Present Conditions and Needs, Social Life, Human Rights, Property or Ownership, the Family, are the topics agreed upon. Each conference presents a well-balanced program of lectures and discussions. It is interesting to note that, in accordance with sound Benedictine practise, fully as much attention will be paid to the spiritual sources from which a sound Catholic approach to actual problems must be derived as to immediate remedies and situations. The outline testifies to genuine preparatory effort and to considerable use of reason in a domain where emotions usually run riot. The Institute has behind it the tradition of hard work and devotion which has characterized the Central-Verein's approach to the discussion of communal morality, ever since the day, some twenty-eight years ago, when it first proposed exhaustive study of "Rerum Novarum." Those interested may note that the first meeting took place on January 12, and that the next will convene on February 9.

Wisconsin Looks Back.—In honor of three hundred years of reminiscence the Catholic *Herald* of Milwaukee issued a special number, a copy of which reached us through the courtesy of Mr. Eugene Moran. This has been, indeed, a peculiarly Catholic tercentenary. First the Jesuit mission effort, beginning not long after Jean

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Nicolet, in his mandarin robe, had fired off pistols in honor of his conquest of Green Bay, led to remarkable fruitful exploration and spiritual achievement. The pioneer missionaries were Father Charles Raymbaut and Father Isaac Jogues, and after them came Father René Menard who lost his way in the forests and perished. Today Wisconsin remembers best Fathers Allouez and Marquette, whose names are identified indeed with the whole story of the Middle West. Second came the years of settling, very important to Catholics because the tide of immigration after 1848 brought so many Germans and Irish into this territory. Stalwart bishops, itinerant priests who wandered from one colony to another at great peril to life and limb, religious orders founded by men and women not afraid to tramp through miles of mud or sleep in huts covered with snow, a laity unusually loyal and sacrificial—all these combined to make the immigration period a time of deep and astonishing Catholic progress. In the background stood the generous Bavarian Missionsverein, which financed pioneer Catholicism in the United States to the tune of at least $1,000,000,000 and for which Wisconsin was an especially important field. Of all this the *Herald* affords an interesting and attractive narrative.

Girl Scouts and Catholic Action.—Supervising the free time of young girls is a social effort of the utmost importance, and Girl Scouting is universally considered the best formula for carrying out that effort. But—as any number of authorities have observed on endless occasions—Scouting assumes that the religious life of Catholic young people will prosper only when there is active cooperation between the parish and the Scout unit. In New York City, Monsignor William F. Cashin, pastor of St. Andrew's Church, New York, recently organized a Scout unit with the assistance of the organization field workers. So ardently did the girls respond and so willing were they to make sacrifices in behalf of the organization that Monsignor Cashin decided to enlist the support of an influential committee. "There are," he stated, "many great benefits to be derived from the Girl Scout program. One is the wealth of adaptable material that it offers. Take the homemaking feature, for example. . . . In Girl Scouting the girls are taught the old domestic arts. They develop skill and have an occupation that is not only useful but delightful. This program is put at their disposal by young women with whom, except for Girl Scouting, the children might never come in contact. The contact is stimulating. It raises the every-day routine above the usual dead level, and brings the children into an ever-widening circle of acquaintances who may be invaluable to them not only now but later in life." Respectfully petitioning Catholic pastors to cooperate, Mrs. Nicholas F. Brady, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Girl Scouts, writes: "Because Girl Scouting is rapidly gaining in popularity and the girls, aware of the Church's approval, naturally feel free to enjoy the activities wherever they find them, I feel keenly the necessity of giving every Catholic girl a chance to share in this wholesome recreation."

Lloyd George's Birthday.—On his seventy-second birthday Lloyd George gave a speech in Wales which was to present a New Deal to England and revivify British politics, stifled, the former prime minister claimed, in the complacency of the present Tory national government. Government expenditure was his main theme, and he proposed a special "development council" to raise enormous sums which would eliminate the dole by inaugurating public works. The financing would be started by a public "prosperity loan" similar to war issues. He carefully avoided Fascist or socialistic proposals but suggested a reorganization of the Cabinet on the lines of the war Cabinet, with five Parliamentary members without portfolio. He attacked the present government as a body, not individually, and he especially condemned the Bank of England for being controlled by unwise finance instead of industry, and for its responsibility in regard to England's post-war gold policy and the debt settlement with the United States. He does not want government ownership of the bank, but a reorganization giving industry control of it. Referring to international affairs, he said: "I would immediately take steps to reach a common agreement with the United States and then act together with that country in a combined endeavor to secure the pacification of the world." The conservative *Times* and the Laborite *Daily Herald* were unsympathetic to the speech while the Liberal *News Chronicle* and Lord Rothermere's *Daily Mail* praised it.

The Liturgical Movement Grows.—In England it appears that the liturgical movement is alive not only in the Catholic Church but also in the Church of England. Anglicans are placing emphasis upon the recitation of Morning and Evening Prayer publicly in their churches, and regret is being expressed that "this elementary duty is not fulfilled by more than one-third of the incumbents in England." For the Catholic Church in England, the *Tablet* is pointing out again that with the growing education and leisure (or unemployment) of the laity, there appears no reason why part of the Day Hours of the Church should not be recited or sung every day in all churches. The *Tablet* advocates as a prescription: "The conversion of England through the liturgy." In New York City the Liturgical Arts Society is carrying on its winter program of lecture meetings to familiarize a nucleus of Catholics with the theology and philosophy underlying the liturgical movement which members of the movement believe is a fundamental viewpoint somewhat lost sight of since the Reformation, and which can indefinitely vivify religion. These lectures take up the doctrine, the purpose, the history, the forms and the spirit of the public worship of the Church, and are in part being published in the magazine, *Liturgical Arts*.

The French Legion.—In forming the Centrale Catholique du Cinéma et de la Radiophonie (the C. C. R.), under the auspices of Catholic Action, French Catholics have recently taken "the first decisive step toward a complete and rational organization of the activity of Catholics in the matter of the motion picture and the radio." The

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C. C. R. contemplates the "cordial and fruitful" co-operation of the clergy and the laity. It will comprise regional groups whose particular needs will be taken into account, and it will maintain close relations with similar organizations in other countries, as well as the Catholic International Film Office. In regard to the radio the C. C. R. will be concerned chiefly with encouraging religious broadcasts and treating with the public authorities in this regard. Abbé Caffarel, secretary-general of the new organization, has been devoting himself for the past two years to the great Christian youth movement, Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne, popularly known as the J. O. C. For almost a year he has been studying the complex problems of the films and the radio. The Abbé believes that these two media are today the chief means of satisfying the intense desire of youth for culture, knowledge and love, and he considers that they are the most powerful means that have ever existed "to place the intellectual, artistic and moral riches of the human patrimony at the disposal of everyone. . . . We come to the cinema not as enemies but as friends." The underlying philosophy of the C. C. R. accords with the conviction of the Holy Father that the motion picture, as well as every scientific accomplishment, is a "gift of God, which must be used for His glory and the extension of His kingdom."

League Sanctions.—While Senator Johnson of California was leading a congressional group in condemning our entry into the World Court as a back door to the League of Nations, the League for the first time applied informal sanctions and continued its waxing which began suddenly with the murder of King Alexander and the Saar plebiscite. An arms embargo had been loosely imposed after the leadership of the United States against Bolivia and Paraguay. A League report has been sent those belligerents which Bolivia accepted and Paraguay rejected. On January 17, the League lifted its embargo against Bolivia and called for a stronger one against Paraguay, thus setting a precedent for strong action. On February 24, the date when the three months' period after the report of the Council, during which League members are "in no case to resort to war" runs out, if the war has not stopped, Paraguay will be free game for any country and the League will go into the matter again. The present problem is an effective embargo against Paraguay; after February it is hinted that it might be a blockade against Paraguay. In both cases our country is the rub. Our present embargo, by joint congressional resolution, is against both belligerents, so that, while we theoretically send no arms to either nation, we cannot help one of them while cutting off the other. And any conceivable blockade the British navy might be willing to manage for the League would have to be dovetailed with our national policy of the Monroe Doctrine and our reluctance to become intimate with the League of Nations.

* * * *

Trotzky Explains.—In the *New Militant,* official organ of the Workers party of the United States, Leon Trotzky analyzes the complex of suspicions and accusations built up around the assassination of Stalin's colleague, Kirov, by which Communist party papers claim Trotzky is proved an accomplice of the terrorists. The version of events as sent out from Russia is that a "foreign consul" contacted a terrorist group in Russia and gave one of them—Nikolaiev, the murderer—5,000 rubles, while telling him that he could establish contact with Trotzky if Nikolaiev gave him a letter to Trotzky from the group. The Stalinist deposition is carefully limited to this. It does not claim that the terrorists were seeking contact with Trotzky or that he was seeking it with them, and it does not say whether the letter was written, sent or answered. The only further claim from Moscow is that Trotzky and his oppositionist group were the "ideological inspirers" of the Russian terrorist group. Trotzky writes: "The version we have adduced presupposes that the G.P.U. itself through the medium of an actual or fake consul, was financing Nikolaiev and was attempting to link him up with Trotzky. . . . We do not mean that the G.P.U. premeditated the murder of Kirov, we have no facts for such a supposition. But the agents knew about the terrorist act in preparation; they established contacts with him [Nikolaiev] through the medium of trumped-up consuls for the double purpose of capturing as many persons as possible involved in the matter, and at the same time of attempting to compromise the political opponents of Stalin." Trotzky recited three other instances when the Stalinists, through provocative methods, tried to associate him with anti-proletariat elements.

Developments in Funds for Charity.—A marked increase last year in gifts for charitable purposes was indicated by a recent survey of publicly reported gifts and bequests in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington and Boston. The figures do not include gifts for religious purposes that were annual pledges or regular offerings, nor other benefactions privately made. Although bequests for education and religious purposes doubled, the total of bequests fell from $99,840,290 in 1933 to $58,579,670 in 1934. Gifts by classification, in 1934 and 1933, follow: organized relief, $27,544,857 and $32,583,097; education, $13,325,301 and $4,056,828; miscellaneous reform, $4,296,087 and $1,091,836; health, $3,875,406 and $1,178,600; fine arts, $2,449,984 and $610,908; foreign relief, $1,858,194 and $2,932,397; religious purposes, $662,243 and $86,373; play and recreation, $10,524 and $153,219—totaling for the two years respectively, $54,022,596 and $42,693,258. The income from philanthropic bequests was as follows in 1934 and 1933: education, $20,919,654 and $10,496,160; religious purposes, $12,901,266 and $6,353,938; organized relief, $9,632,518 and $40,274,746; health, $7,904,709 and $16,349,835; foreign relief, $5,142,191 and $5,199,825; fine arts, $1,537,289 and $5,337,000; miscellaneous reform, $413,737 and $15,523,963; play and recreation, $128,306 and $304,823. On the basis of the survey, it was estimated that philanthropic income for the United States last year was more than $400,000,000 in gifts and bequests, of which $300,000,000 at least was in the form of gifts, compared with a gift total in 1933 of $251,000,000.

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The Play and Screen

By GRENVILLE VERNON

Laburnum Grove

J. B. PRIESTLEY has sometimes been referred to as the one English novelist of importance who continues the Dickensian tradition; yet Mr. Priestley is far from being other than a child of his age. It is true he is interested in the whimsicalities of character, that he is not obsessed with sex, that he understands the middle and lower middle class Englishman, that he is English and not British. This he has shown in his novels, this he shows in "Laburnum Grove." But though Mr. Priestley is at times sentimental, he does not drip sentimentalism, and certain of his moral opinions would scarcely have been approved by Mr. Dickens. For instance, in "Laburnum Grove" we are led to sympathize with a counterfeiter, and to cheer his outwitting of Scotland Yard. Of course this counterfeiter is a paragon of the domestic virtues, and aside from his profession he is lovable, whimsical and the possessor of a deep fund of common sense.

George Radfern lives in Laburnum Grove, a most respectable London suburb. He cares for his wife and child, and even for his lazy brother-in-law. He is, in short, loved and respected. But at last fed up with lending money to his brother-in-law and disapproving of his daughter's wooer, he tells the assembled gathering that he is a crook, thereby getting rid of his incubus and his prospective son-in-law. At the end, however, everyone except the Scotland Yard detective thinks he has put up a joke on them, and as the detective is rendered powerless by the destruction of his evidence, Radfern and family go to Europe to live happily on the proceeds of his counterfeiting.

There is in this tale no good moral surely, and the only defense can be that the tale itself is preposterous and no such being ever lived as George Radfern. Yet, granted the premises, Mr. Radfern is real enough and the other figures are as amusingly veritable as any the theatre has seen this season. Mr. Priestley is not perhaps as certain of his dramatic technique as he is sure in his evocation of character. The play moves slowly at times, and sags badly in the second act. There is only one really tense scene, the one in the third act where Radfern and the detective face each other, and Radfern proves the master; but the characters save the day, the characters and the players who project them.

Edmund Gwenn plays Radfern, and gives a performance of rare vitality and bounce. There were those who accused him of overacting. I would not say so. Without physical movement, the character of Radfern would be flat and unreal; played as Mr. Gwenn plays it, it comes to abundant life, we believe in him, we sympathize with him. Had he not had the bounce he displays, the scenes would have been let down, and the play might well have become a bore. It is a part which requires virtuosity of treatment, and this the actor imparts to it. It is one of the outstanding performances of the season. Almost equally good is Melville Cooper's impersonation of the sponging brother-in-law. Mr. Cooper is a character actor of a high order; he never exaggerates, yet by his posture, his walk, his dress, his mastery of significant detail, he builds up a figure which is a masterpiece of the comic. Admirable too, and utterly alien to what we have come to associate her with, is Elizabeth Risdon's acid etching of the equally sponging sister-in-law, while A. G. Andrews proves again his fine art in the minor figure of Radfern's confederate. The other characters were capably done, though at times Molly Pearson's sweetness becomes a little wearisome in the part of Mrs. Radfern. (At the Booth Theatre.)

David Copperfield

IT IS evident that at last the possibilities of Dickens are being recognized by the magnates who control the destinies of the screen. Only recently they gave us "Great Expectations"; now they have given us "David Copperfield." It is of course impossible to put the great panorama of a Dickens novel in its full richness into a bare two hours; either the story or the characters must be sacrificed, and in a work of the length and richness of "David Copperfield" this is peculiarly true. Yet in this adaptation by Hugh Walpole and Howard Estabrook the story has been retained, and the characters are not neglected. I, for one, should have liked more of Mr. Micawber and slightly less of Mr. Peggotty, but on the whole the balance is pretty well preserved. The action is leisurely; if it were not, it would have been false to Dickens, and a Dickens film with Dickens absent beggars the imagination! So we have Dickens unjazzed, which shows that the movies are beginning to come of age. And, best of all, the players chosen to present the film are on the whole excellent.

First honors must go to Freddie Bartholomew, who portrays David, the child. This little English boy's performance is one of the most sensitive and touching evocations of a child that either the screen or the stage has seen, a veritable little masterpiece. And almost equally good is Frank Lawton's David grown up. He looks startlingly like the boy David and plays his part with sincerity and poignancy. W. C. Fields looks Mr. Micawber, but his enunciation is far from distinct, which lessens the flamboyancy of the character. Roland Young gives a finely etched portrait of Uriah Heep, and Edna May Oliver almost as fine a one as Aunt Betsy. Basil Rathbone as Mr. Murdstone, Violet Kemble-Cooper as Jane Murdstone, Jessie Ralph as Peggotty, Lenox Pawle as Mr. Dick, and Hugh Williams as Steerforth are all quite believingly their prototypes. Lionel Barrymore as Mr. Peggotty gives one of his usual performances of old men, a little too unctious perhaps for this particular one. Maureen O'Sullivan as Dora, Madge Evans as Agnes, and Florine McKinney as Emily, do as well as they can with these stock female types. The photography of outdoor scenes is only moderately good, though an exception should be made for Aunt Betsy's house near Dover. (At the Capitol Theatre.)

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Communications

CATHOLICS AND JEWS

Roslindale, Mass.

TO the Editor: Mr. Louis Minsky's article, "Catholics and Jews," in your review for December 28, should commend itself to right-thinking Americans who have at heart the cause of racial and religious amity and understanding. However, Mr. Minsky gives a grossly distorted impression of what the distinguished Jesuit historian, Reverend J. F. X. Murphy, said about the Jews in his paper read before the Philosophic Conference at Manresa Island. Mr. Minsky terms this calm and eminently fair exposition of an extremely controversial theme a "vehement diatribe against the Jews, attacking them for a variety of reasons ranging from alleged clannishness to greed." Mr. Minsky then goes on to say that this unimpassioned exposition is identical with "demagogic Protestant" libels of Catholicism. Jews were "pained" and "surprised" by such unfriendly remarks coming from a Catholic priest. It was "anomalous."

That the average Jew, sincerely anxious to live in peace and harmony with his Christian fellow citizens, should be "pained" by some of the statements made by Father Murphy is not an occasion for wonderment. Most Catholics are shocked when delving for the first time into history they discover that a few Popes were wicked men, that some cardinals, bishops and priests have lived scandalous and immoral lives. Father Murphy is too accurate a thinker, has too perspicacious a view of men and history, to descend to "demagogic" denunciations of an entire race. He says on page 383 of the *Catholic Mind* (America Press, New York City, October 22, 1934): "A member of a long-oppressed and exiled race myself, I can't help but feel and feel deeply for the Jew. Like Dido of old, *non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco*. . . . Of course there is no intention here of drawing up an indictment against every individual Jew. We do not need Edmund Burke to remind us that we cannot indict a race!" Do these introductory remarks sound like those of a "demagogue"?

Father Murphy roughly classifies the modern Jew as "Orthodox," "Conservative," "Liberal" and "Radical." The Orthodox Jews are often "the kindly faced, long-bearded Hebrews . . . they often realize in their private lives the virtues and spirituality inculcated in the 'Law.'" The Liberals often are "anxious or willing to find a common basis of religious accord with their Christian neighbors. . . ." The Radicals "cut themselves utterly aloof from Judaism as a religion; oftentimes going the full distance of open atheism and anti-religion. . . ."

"Many of the Orthodox in their attitude toward the Goyim are mindful of the precept of Hillel, which after all is but the negative expression of the positive mandate of Our Lord, 'Do unto others what you would that others should do unto you.' Genuine piety toward God and love for their fellow man, Gentile included, is found among them."

Surely, Mr. Minsky could not condemn the above for "bigotry." Father Murphy then continues his scholarly discourse with this admonition:

"Now we Catholics must be on our guard not to be too ready to admit evil of the Jew, nor too slow to admit evidence in his favor. . . . Too many of our European brethren are ready to believe anything, no matter how unfair or unfounded, against the Jew, the Freemason, or the anticlerical. For this reason we must be on our guard against the hideous accusations so often hurled against the Jew by foreign Catholics whose anti-Semitism makes them as hysterical when the Jew is mentioned as the craziest A.P.A. or K.K.K. in our land could be at fancied machinations of Rome."

That Father Murphy also dilates upon characteristics of the Jew which are not so winning, a cursory perusal of his paper will indicate. Although he facetiously remarks upon their uncanny capacity for accumulating coin and discusses how in the Middle Ages the hatred of the common people was aroused by usurious practises of many of their race, he is quick to say: "I do not say that they always make an unfair or odious use of their wealth or opportunities. But their exclusiveness makes them the natural object of envy, and hatred soon comes to dwell on their doorstep. Aristides was hated and exiled for his fancied monopoly of justice."

The most serious charge which Father Murphy makes against the Jews (not as a class) is the preponderantly large number of exponents of revolutionary thought which are found amongst this brilliant and feverishly intellectual people. Here the discussion concerns facts and not feelings, and it is as childish for Mr. Minsky, or any other loyal defender of his race, to close his eyes to the obvious as it is for zealous but misguided Catholics to try to deny that some Crusaders butchered innocent Moslem women and children, and that Catholic soldiers under Emperor Charles slew the helpless Lutheran inhabitants of Magdeburg during the Thirty Years' War.

Concerning their alleged anticlerical activities Father Murphy makes a careful and clear-cut distinction between European Jews and American Jews, exonerating the latter of any hostility to the Church, just as he makes a necessary and correct distinction in his brilliant lectures on Masonry between French, Italian, Spanish and Mexican Masonry and that of the Eastern United States.

Lastly, lest any earnest Jew anxious, as are all men of good-will, for better racial and religious cooperation, should think ill of Father Murphy, who is the soul of kindliness and charity, let me quote a final excerpt from his paper concerning an accusation which I believe has rightly incensed Jews more than any other:

"It is an old charge that Jews show no patriotism. Yet we must remember that seldom in the past had they anything to be patriotic to. It is almost against human nature to be patriotic to a land that persecutes one and treats one as an alien. In English-speaking lands and even in Germany, once they had attained emancipation and political rights, they showed themselves fervently devoted to the land of their adoption."

EVERETT J. CONWAY.

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OLDEN TIMES

New York, N. Y.

TO the Editor: Here are some data from the old-time Catholic school: nobody paid anything except a cent for a sheet of paper to write with ink on once in a while; no collections were taken up for anything connected with it; the place was old and dirty and cleaning women were unknown; the palace across the street for non-Catholic children was a greater and greater temptation as we grew older; there was one play on St. Patrick's Day done by the children; school meant including high school as a matter of course; children's clothes were sometimes patched; children's sleeves were sometimes too short, sometimes had a hole at the elbow; mothers wore their plush coats for ten years; fathers borrowed overcoats to attend wedding anniversaries; people walked miles to save five cents carfare; people wore cotton stockings; mother washed her own hair and all the clothes of the family and made all the bread and did all the cleaning; the family did without steam heat, bathrooms, electricity, gas, radio, automobile, vacations away from home. (Nobody went crazy, either.) I am not the only one of my acquaintance who has resisted, even to the present day, the temptation to use modern contrivances which cost money; I do not use electricity, radio, furnace or automobile and find I have money to hand always for everything, and it is a nice feeling.

Then, again, if you want to go back further in my knowledge of old times, there was a time when mothers sent their sons to be priests and from little backwoods farms without a convenience, where nearly everybody wore handkerchiefs on their heads instead of hats and shawls instead of coats, and mother and father rode the same horse to church Sundays, in later years a separate trip being made to bring the children to the second Mass. People were willing to endure hardship in order that their children might be priests.

E. MURRAY.

THE ADVANCE OF COMMUNISM

Ridgewood, N. J.

TO the Editor: Your November 16 issue carried within its new covers a letter from Katherine M. Godley of Watertown, New York.

Had Catholics more of the Godley view of modern capitalistic society, and less of the anti-Communist spirit, we would be a lot better off. Recently a local church started a Holy Name drive against Communists. I communicated with the pastor and suggested that he procure the *Catholic Worker* and distribute this paper among his anti-Communists. This paper is made up in great part of the social teachings of Holy Mother Church and her great Doctors. The letter remains unanswered. Moral: Catholics today, after two thousand years, more or less, do not realize what the Sermon on the Mount meant. They apparently deem it a mere fairy story to frighten eight-year-old capitalists.

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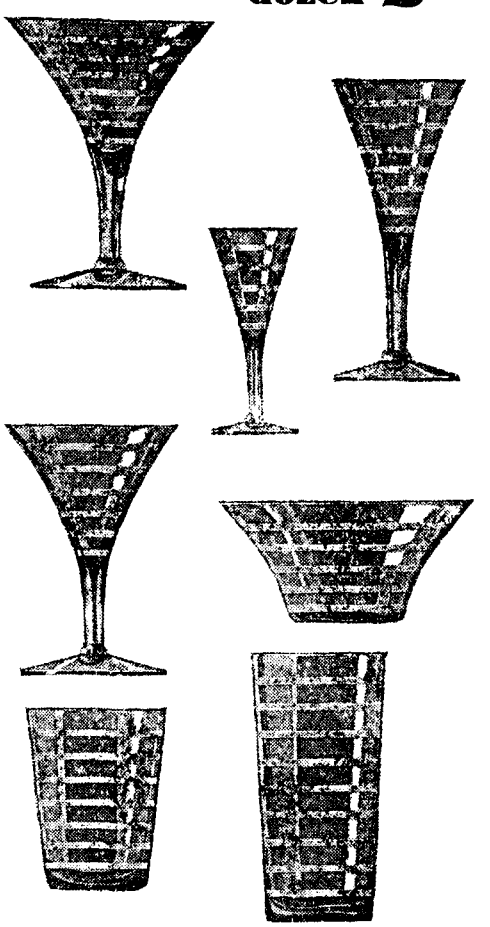

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Next Week

NEW SOCIAL FRONTIERS, by Johannes Mattern, of the faculty of Johns Hopkins University and author of several standard works on political science, considers the problem of government's reconciling the conflicts of what are called "interest groups." Professor Mattern takes as the framework for the application of the fundamental principles which he discusses, Secretary of Agriculture Wallace's book "New Frontiers" and reveals essentials if we are to be governed by reason and decent self-discipline rather than by dictatorship and the firing-squad. Because of its length, the article will be published in two consecutive issues. . . . OUR DANGER OF COMMUNISM, by William Walsh, proposes some immediately pressing considerations. Are the millions of non-religious persons in our country, the millions who have become quite inactive in, if not indifferent to, organized faiths in Almighty God, likely to turn to Communism? The writer, a historian and author, describes Communism as the successor of Mohammedanism, Protestantism and agnosticism. If the struggle develops in our country between well-organized Communism and well-organized Catholicism, which would have the sympathy of the great masses of agnostics, of persons who do not like to face ultimate issues until they have to? . . . OUR LAWYERS' PREDICAMENT, by Erwin J. Urch, is a challenging description of the human equation which must be solved if we are to have an improvement in our government by law. . . . THE JESUIT TRAIL, by Bryan M. O'Reilly, is a brilliant story of a pilgrimage from Quebec to Montreal, along the Ottawa River and the dark Timagami Lakes, down through Nipissing and French River into Georgian Bay, recollecting brave events.

Books

Hate One Another!

All in the Name of God, by Everett R. Clinchy. New York: John Day Company. $2.00.

RACIAL animosity, religious bigotry and intolerance have a long and interesting history. Explorers digging among the ruins of past civilizations are constantly unearthing new evidence of their vigor and extent. Dr. Clinchy, a Presbyterian minister and director of the National Conference of Jews and Christians since 1928, undertakes to trace the origin, course and effect of such movements in this country. In brief, he finds that most of these movements are traceable to prejudices and antagonisms which immigrants brought with them from the Old World and transplanted in the New. There seems to be a tendency in every group to regard like-mindedness as the ideal, and to view with suspicion and antagonism every person and group which appears different and, therefore, "alien" and "foreign."

The author depicts the fierce intolerance which prevailed among the early settlers, and cites numerous cases of fines, whippings, imprisonment and even death being inflicted upon individuals who persisted in their claim to the right of worshiping God according to their own conscience. The Puritans brave the perils of the sea and seek a haven in the New World where they can enjoy freedom of conscience, but experience apparently no qualms of conscience in denying the same freedom to the Quakers, whom they persecuted with a fierce intolerance.

The Calverts of Maryland, Roger Williams of Rhode Island, and a small company of non-conformists helped to prepare the way for the thought and action of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and a courageous minority who fought successfully in the eighteenth century for permanent constitutional guarantees of religious liberty. Pointing to the futility of coercion to achieve religious uniformity, Jefferson declared: "Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch toward uniformity." Even more influential, however, than the able arguments of Jefferson and Madison in establishing guarantees of religious liberty was the variety of faiths which the immigrants brought with them, and their unwillingness to have any one creed receive special privileges from the colonial government.

The dominant urge in the tangled composite of social, economic and psychological forces giving rise to the American Protective Association, the Know-nothing Movement, the Ku Klux Klan and other movements seeking to restrict the influence of Catholics in public life, seems to have been the ever-recurring fear of Protestants of "alien denomination from Rome," the deprivation of their right to freedom of conscience, if Catholics got the upper hand. The author cites the words of Father Ronald Knox as giving some foundation to that apprehension: "A body of Catholic patriots entrusted with the government of the Catholic state will not shrink

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even from repressive measures in order to perpetuate the secure domination of Catholic principles among their fellow countrymen." If Father Knox implies by this that Catholics will deprive Protestants of their civil rights to freedom of conscience, to worship God as they see fit, and seek by force to thrust their religious views upon them, he will find no followers among the Catholics of America. In our eyes the right of our Protestant fellow citizens to freedom of conscience is as sacred as our own, and any threatened infringement upon that right would be resisted by Catholics as vigorously as an invasion of our own. Alfred E. Smith in his reply to Charles C. Marshall has expressed the *Credo* of the Catholics of America on this matter with clarity, orthodoxy and, we hope, with convincing finality.

The volume is an eminently worth-while contribution to the abatement of prejudices and hatred based upon differences of race and religion in America. Not the least of its merits is the fine spirit of fairness which characterizes every chapter of the book. The author practises what he preaches.

JOHN A. O'BRIEN.

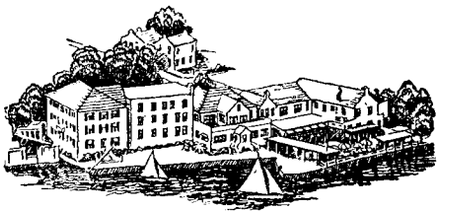
Russian Realities

Russia's Iron Age, by William Henry Chamberlin. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $4.00.

FEW BOOKS published in America are satisfactory, either as records or as interpretations of Soviet Russia. Yet as they accumulate, the great Eurasian experiment becomes a little clearer. Chamberlin, here, strips both tinsel and crêpe from the evolution of the machine-state. He shows the great menace working—and almost it ceases to be a menace; almost it becomes a little human, and a little futile. It begins (in spite of big words and ruthless power, in spite of the "Messianic" ideology of the founders) to look like a simple, practical illustration of Ortega's "civilization inherited and operated by men who could not produce it nor replace it."

"One is apt," says Chamberlain, "to find that what the Soviet Union has to offer for the unquestionable defects of the individualist system of production are not solutions, but—alternative defects." The immediate object of the Communist group which dominates the Union, is the mechanization of Russia; not only industry but agriculture. The ultimate object of the process is the classless, Communist state.

As long as mechanization is incomplete the paradox does not appear, for every man, woman and child can be employed in building a planned machine-state. The moment the process is complete, the majority of hands are eliminated from labor. "Technological unemployment" must be the next phenomenon. The more successful the mechanization, the more complete the unemployment. Now, will the few mechanic-producers be the favored class in that new state? Or are the "technologically unemployed" the favored class, for whose needs the others must work? When all possible five-year plans have been perfected, where will Communism stand? Even now, in the process of building the machine which will make



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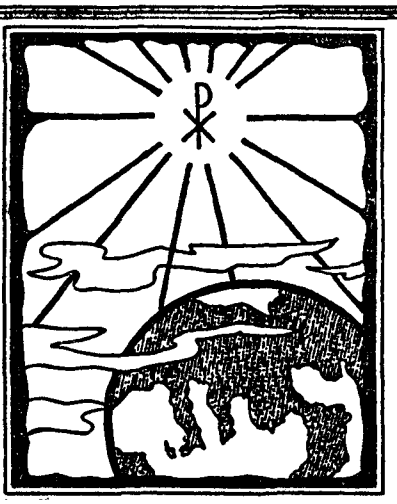

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THE LITURGICAL PRESS

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"class" obsolete, "class" is becoming as stratified in Russia as it was in Panama Canal construction.

One thing looks certain: the unavoidable necessity for national and international planned economy in some form, and equally certain are the enormous dangers which accompany—inevitably—any attempt to plan. Thrice certain is it, that the planning may not be left in the hands of theorists alone. Agricultural planning, says Chamberlin, cost the lives of millions of peasants, not only through the ignorance of the planners, but in part by the deliberate use of famine and death "as an instrument of national policy." That would seem to be a logical result of concentration of irresponsible power over other people's lives in the hands of theorists. Planning might include, quite usefully, some consideration of the Aquinian notion of responsibility, of "stewardship."

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

Success and Failure

Full Flavour, by Doris Leslie. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

IN THE welter of novels being turned out in the present year of grace this book is conspicuously good. Miss Leslie writes as if she believed her story so worth while that it needed neither a bizarre style, a sexy theme, nor abnormal characters to secure a hearing. "Full Flavour" follows the fortunes of Catherine Ducrox, an English girl of partially French extraction, who so far defies mid-Victorian conventions that on her father's death she assumes the management of Hanson's, the cigar business which in his lax hands has been drifting into bankruptcy. Her intelligence, common sense, and deep-rooted instinct for managing things and people bring her success in spite of the scandal which her business venture causes at first. This success flatters her pride, and so strengthens her innate possessive impulse that, in the case of her closest personal relationships, it is transformed into a passion to dominate others, to mold them to her own liking. That passion colors, enlivens and explains the three aspects of Catherine's emotional life, her relations with her husband, her daughter and her grandson.

Like Galsworthy's Soames Forsyte, Catherine's predominating instinct is at once the chief cause of her success and of her failure. Her success is in the field of business; her failure, in her own domestic life, and as the years pass she becomes increasingly and tragically eager to retrieve her failure. Withal, she is intensely feminine, and wins the reader's sympathy. Her competence and her loyalty are contrasted with Richard Temple's weakness, selfishness and insouciance, with the headstrong blindness of her daughter, and with the indecision of her grandson, and in these contrasts she commands respect.

Miss Leslie is obviously a student of Galsworthy. Not only is there a spiritual kinship between Soames Forsyte and Catherine Ducrox, but her setting is typically Galsworthian, and there is the same interest in tracing the evolution of individuals and their children through several generations, the same adherence to and faith in

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material things on the part of the older generation, the same poignant use of reminiscence centering about former haunts now drifting to decay. The appearance of physical well-being is used to throw into mocking contrast the spiritual and emotional realities which belie it.

This does not mean that Miss Leslie's novel is a mere derivative. On the contrary, she tells with understanding, skill, and a restraint as rare as it is admirable, a story well worth the telling which is neither forced nor stilted and in which the interest never flags.

JOSEPH J. REILLY.

King and Divines

The Reformation in England: The English Schism, by G. Constant. New York: Sheed and Ward. $4.00.

PROFESSOR CONSTANT writes this book with a concentration and an almost ascetic discipline which result in a clarity and purposefulness rare in any work, and especially in a history. The book primarily tells what happened to English ecclesiastical life between 1509 and 1547, and how it happened. The subtitle, "The English Schism," presents the theme. Reformation and schism are separated, and the "supreme head of the Church of England" is separately explained. The division into chapters and the organization of the whole material is planned to clarify individually these three contrasting motives, which, during the reign of Henry VIII, maintained individuality. The chapters on the divorce, royal supremacy and the champions of Catholic unity, and the discussions of international policy build up with great interest and authority the rôle of the king. The chapters on the advanced party, on the Henricians and on dogma, with liberal but most purposeful use of biography, distinguish the heretical and schismatical strands.

The first chapter is the "Preliminaries and Causes of the Schism," an excellent quick survey, but notably isolated. Professor Constant's first effort is not to answer why. He deliberately excludes any novelistic or intuitive or dogmatical attempt to "make the period live." His conscious efforts to keep his subject within bounds of scientific fact are made evident throughout by what goes into the footnotes, by the sparseness of human or sentimental details and by the exclusion of any only faintly pertinent factors. The book is not, and does not pretend to be, a complete history of the subject. Indeed, it seems too departmentalized. One is conscious of and disconcerted by the classification. If it were slightly less rigid, the book could be followed more readily and with more certain, if less reflective, comprehension. It should not be hinted, however, that it is hard reading or dull. It is extremely interesting and advances quickly.

The final impression of the whole book, and especially of the early chapter on the suppression of the monasteries, appears to be not the contrast but the positive relation between schism and heresy. More, Fisher and Pole were not, evidently, quixotic, and were not deceived. The history, most strictly about the schism, is certainly too perfect an introduction to the English Reformation.

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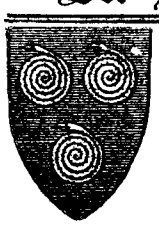
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Briefer Mention

The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew, by Jacob R. Marcus. Cincinnati: Department of Synagogue and School Extension of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

DR. MARCUS'S book is a factual and on the whole objective account of Jewry in Germany. Though the author is strongly motivated by resentment of what happened during past centuries, he tries to understand the moods upon which Hitlerism has relied to create hatred of Semitism. He carefully disproves the myth that Germany has been "dominated" by a Jewish minority, summarizes the contribution made by his people to German life and culture, and above all discusses very interestingly the outlook for the future. With some observations we should all of us differ, but the book merits careful and reflective reading.

The Saar Struggle, by Michael T. Florinsky. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.00.

MR. FLORINSKY, a Columbia instructor, spent the better part of a sabbatical year in the Saar Basin and emerged with a reasonably objective view of the situation. He thinks that the major problems of this interesting region will not be solved by the plebiscite, regardless of the result of the voting. He believed that Hitler would have a comfortable majority, though any swing to autonomy by Catholics would greatly increase the chances for an autonomous rule.

Dictionary of American Slang, by Maurice H. Weseen. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. $2.00.

MR. WESEEN has compiled a very useful dictionary. Slang expressions are grouped under appropriate headings; the definitions are pertinent and clear. Even the typography is practical. While educators generally will probably hide the book from view, all who need to know about our vulgarisms will find them well catalogued here.

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